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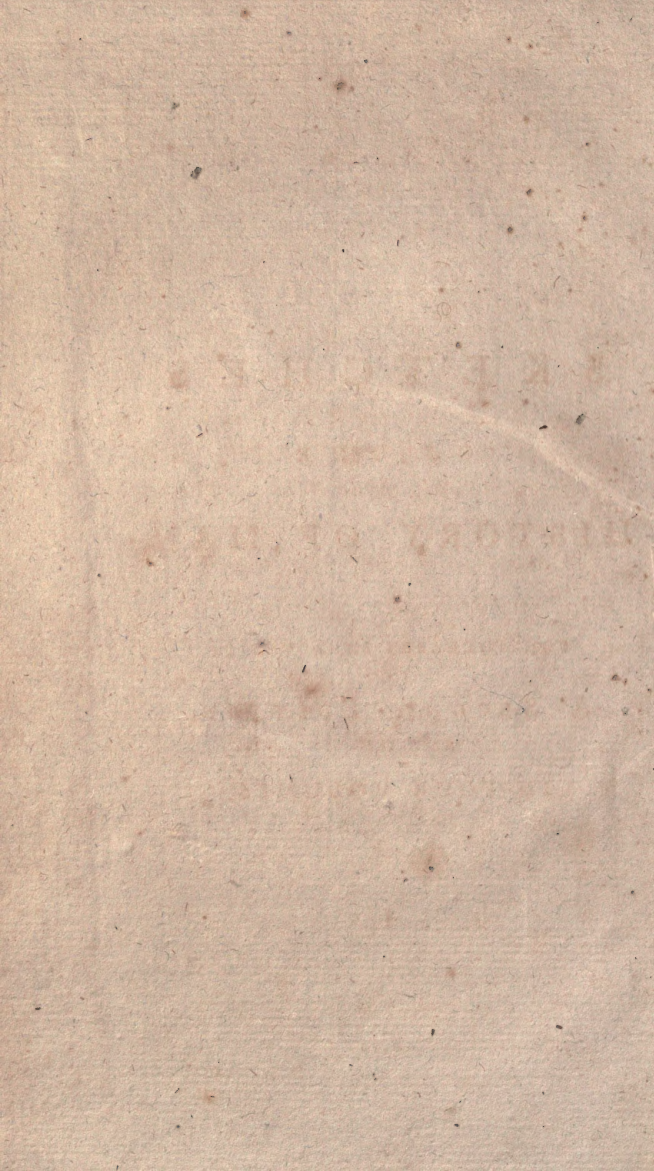
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S K E T C H E S
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H I S T O R Y O F M A N .

CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED IN
A S E C O N D E D I T I O N .
I N F O U R V O L U M E S .

THE HISTORY OF

THE CITY OF

NEW YORK

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES

A SECOND EDITION

REVISED AND CORRECTED

BY J. B. H. H. H.

NEW YORK

1812

PRINTED BY J. B. H. H. H.

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
M A N.

CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED IN
A SECOND EDITION,

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

V O L U M E I.

E D I N B U R G H :

Printed for W. STRAHAN, and T. CADELL, *London*;
and for W. CREECH, *Edinburgh*.

M D C C L X X V I I I .

SELECTED
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
M. A. N.

CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED IN
A SECOND EDITION

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME I

EDITED BY
THOMAS W. BATES, and T. C. BATES, JUNIOR
and for W. C. BATES, JUNIOR
INDOLEXVII

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1778
V. 1
P R E F A C E.

THE following work is the substance of various speculations, which occasionally occupied the author, and enlivened his leisure-hours. It is not intended for the learned; they are above it: nor for the vulgar; they are below it. It is intended for those who free from the corruption of opulence and depression of bodily labour, are fond of useful knowledge; who, even in the delirium of youth, feel the dawn of patriotism, and who in riper years enjoy its meridian warmth. To such men this work is dedicated; and that they may profit by it, is the author's ardent wish; and probably will be while he retains life sufficient to form a wish.

May not he hope, that this work, child of his gray hairs, will survive, and bear testimony for him to good men, that even a laborious calling, which left him

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not many leisure-hours, never banished from his mind, that he would little deserve to be of the human species, were he indifferent about his fellow-creatures :

Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto.

Most of the subjects handled in the following sheets, admit but of probable reasoning ; and with respect to such reasonings, it is often difficult to say, what degree of conviction they ought to produce. It is easy to form plausible arguments ; but to form such as can stand the test of time, is not always easy. I could amuse the reader with numerous examples of conjectural arguments, which, fair at a distant view, vanish like a cloud on a near approach. Several examples, not to go farther, are mentioned in the preliminary discourse of this book. The hazard of being misled by such arguments, gave the author much anxiety ; and after his utmost attention, he can but faintly hope, that he has not often wandered far from truth.

Above

Above thirty years ago, he began to collect materials for a natural history of man; and in the vigour of youth, did not think the undertaking too bold, even for a single hand. He has discovered of late, that his utmost abilities are scarce sufficient for executing a few imperfect sketches.

Edinburgh, Feb. 23. 1774.

To the READER.

As one great object of the Editor is to make this a popular work, he has, chiefly with a view to the female sex, subjoined an English translation of the quotations from other languages.

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S K E T C H E S O F T H E H I S T O R Y O F M A N .

THE Human Species is in every view an interesting subject, and has been in every age the chief enquiry of philosophers. The faculties of the mind have been explored, and the affections of the heart ; but there is still wanting a History of the Species, in its progress from the savage state to its highest civilization and improvement. Above thirty years ago, I began to collect materials for that history ; and in the vigour of youth, did not think the undertaking too bold even for a single hand ; but in the progress of

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the

the work, I found my abilities no more than sufficient for executing a few Sketches. These are brought under the following heads. 1. Progress of Men independent of Society. 2. Progress of Men in Society. 3. Progress of Sciences. To explain these heads a preliminary discourse is necessary; which is, to examine, Whether all men be of one lineage, descended from a single pair, or whether there be different races originally distinct.

PRE-

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE, concerning
the Origin of MEN and of
LANGUAGES.

WHETHER there be different races of men, or whether all men be of one race without any difference but what proceeds from climate or other external cause, is a question that philosophers differ widely about. As the question is of moment in tracing the history of man, I purpose to contribute my mite. And in order to admit all the light possible, a view of brute animals as divided into different races or kinds, will make a proper introduction.

As many animals contribute to our well-being, and as many are noxious; man would be a being not a little imperfect, were he provided with no means but experience for distinguishing the one sort from the other. Did every animal make a species by itself (indulging the expression) differing from all others, a man would finish his course without acquiring

as much knowledge of animals as is necessary even for self-preservation: he would be absolutely at a loss with respect to unknown individuals. The Deity has left none of his works imperfect. Animals are formed of different kinds, each kind having a figure and a temper peculiar to itself: great uniformity is discovered among animals of the same kind; great variety among animals of different kinds. And to prevent confusion, kinds are distinguished externally by figure, air, manner, so clearly as not to escape even a child *. Nor does divine wisdom stop here: to complete the system, we are endowed with an innate conviction, that each kind has properties peculiar to itself; and that these properties belong to every individual of the kind (*a*). Our road to the

* “ And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field.” *Gen. ii. 19.*

(*a*) See Elements of Criticism, vol. 2. p. 490. edit. 5.

knowledge

knowledge of animals is thus wonderfully shortened: the experience we have of the disposition and properties of any animal, is applied without hesitation to every one of the kind. By that conviction, a child, familiar with one dog, is fond of others that resemble it; an European, upon the first sight of a cow in Africa, strokes it as gentle and innocent; and an African avoids a tiger in Hindostan as at home.

If the foregoing theory be well founded, neither experience nor argument is required to prove, that a horse is not an ass, or that a monkey is not a man (*a*). Some animals indeed are so similar, as to render it uncertain whether they be not radically of the same kind. But in such instances we need not to be solicitous; for I venture to affirm, that both will be found gentle or fierce, wholesome food or unwholesome. Such questions may be curious, but they are of little use.

Whether man be provided by nature with a faculty to distinguish innocent animals from what are noxious, seems not a clear point: such a faculty may be

(*a*) See M. Buffon's natural history.

thought unnecessary to man, being supplied by reason and experience. But as reason and experience have little influence on brute animals, they undoubtedly possess that faculty *. A beast of prey would be ill fitted for its station, if nature did not teach it what creatures to attack, what to avoid. A rabbit is the prey of the ferret. Present a rabbit, even dead, to a young ferret that never had seen a rabbit : it throws itself upon the body, and bites it with fury. A hound has the same faculty with respect to a hare; and most dogs have it. Unless directed by nature, innocent animals would not know their enemy till they were in its clutches. A hare flies with precipitation from the first dog it ever saw; and a chicken, upon the first sight of a kite,

* Brute animals have many instincts that are denied to man; because the want of them can be supplied by education. An infant must be taught to walk; and it is long before it acquires the art in perfection. Brutes have no teacher but nature. A foal, the moment it sees the light, walks no less perfectly than its parents. And so does a partridge, lapwing, &c.

*Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit; unde nisi intus
Monstratum?*

HORACE.

cowers

cowers under its dam. Social animals, without scruple, connect with their own kind, and as readily avoid others *. Birds are not afraid of quadrupeds; not even of a cat, till they are taught by experience that a cat is their enemy. They appear to be as little afraid of a man naturally; and upon that account are far from being shy when left unmolested. In the uninhabited island of Visia Grandé, one of the Philippines, Kempfer says, that birds may be taken with the hand. Hawks, in some of the South-sea islands, are equally tame. At Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands, geese, far from being shy, may be knocked down with a stick. The birds that inhabit certain rocks hanging over the sea in the island of Annabon, take food readily out of a man's hand. In Arabia Felix, foxes and apes show no fear of man; the inhabitants of hot countries having no no-

* The populace about Smyrna have a cruel amusement. They lay the eggs of a hen in a stork's nest. Upon seeing the chickens, the male in amazement calls his neighbouring storks together; who, to revenge the affront put upon them, destroy the poor innocent female; while he bewails his misfortune in heavy lamentation.

tion of hunting. In the uninhabited island Bering, adjacent to Kamiskatka, foxes are so little shy that they scarce go out of a man's way. Doth not this observation suggest a final cause? A partridge, a plover, a pheasant, would be lost to man for food, were they naturally as much afraid of him as of a hawk or a kite.

The division of animals into different kinds, serves another purpose, no less important than those mentioned; which is, to fit them for different climates. We learn from experience, that no animal nor vegetable is fitted for every climate; and from experience we also learn, that there is no animal nor vegetable but what is fitted for some climate, where it grows to perfection. Even in the torrid zone, plants of a cold climate are found upon mountains where plants of a hot climate will not grow; and the height of a mountain may be determined with tolerable precision from the plants it produces. Wheat is not an indigenous plant in Britain: no farmer is ignorant that foreign seed is requisite to preserve the plant in vigour. To prevent flax from degenerating in Scotland and Ireland, great quantities

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tities of foreign seed are annually imported. A camel is peculiarly fitted for the burning sands of Arabia; and Lapland would be uninhabitable but for rein-deer, an animal so entirely fitted for piercing cold, that it cannot subsist even in a temperate climate. Arabian and Barbary horses degenerate in Britain; and to preserve the breed in some degree of perfection, frequent supplies from their original climate are requisite. Spanish horses degenerate in Mexico; but improve in Chili, having more vigour and swiftness there, than even the Andalusian race, whose offspring they are. Our dunghill-fowl, imported originally from a warm country in Asia, are not hardened, even after many centuries, to bear the cold of this country like birds originally native: the hen lays few or no eggs in winter, unless in a house warmed with fire. The deserts of Zaara and Biledulgerid in Africa, may be properly termed the native country of lions: there they are nine feet long and five feet high. Lions in the south of Africa toward the Cape of Good Hope, are but five feet and a half long and three and a half high. A breed of lions trans-

planted from the latter to the former, would rise to the full size; and sink to the smaller size, if transplanted from the former to the latter *.

To preserve the different kinds or species of animals entire, as far as necessary, Providence is careful to prevent a mixed breed. Few animals of different species copulate together. Some may be brought

* That every species of plants has a proper climate where it grows to perfection, is a fact uncontroverted. The same holds in brute animals. Biledulgerid, the kindly climate for lions, would be mortal to the bear, the wolf, the deer, and other inhabitants of a cold region. Providence has not only fitted the productions of nature for different climates, but has guarded these productions against the extremities of the weather in the same climate. Many plants close their leaves during night; and some close them at mid-day against the burning rays of the sun. In cold climates, plants during winter are protected against cold by snow. In these climates, the hair of some animals grows long in winter: several animals are covered with much fat, which protects them against cold; and many birds are fatter in winter than in summer, though probably their nourishment is less plentiful. Several animals sleep during winter in sheltered places; and birds of passage are taught by nature to change the climate, when too hot or too cold.

to copulate, but without effect; and some produce a mongrel, a mule for example, which seldom procreates, if at all. In some few instances, where a mixture of species is harmless, procreation goes on without limitation. All the different species of the dog-kind copulate together; and the mongrels produced generate others without end.

M. Buffon, in his natural history, borrows from Ray (*a*) a very artificial rule for ascertaining the different species of animals: “Any two animals that can procreate together, and whose issue can also procreate, are of the same species (*b*).” A horse and an ass can procreate together; but they are not, says he, of the same species, because their issue, a mule, cannot procreate. He applies that rule to man; holding all men to be of the same species, because a man and a woman, however different in size, in shape, in complexion, can procreate together without end. And by the same rule he holds all dogs to be

(*a*) Wisdom of God in the works of creation.

(*b*) Octavo edit. vol. 8. p. 104. and in many other parts.

of the same species. With respect to other animals, the rule should pass without opposition from me ; but as it also respects man, the subject of the present enquiry, I will examine it with attention. Providence, to prevent confusion, hath in many instances with-held from animals of different species a power of procreating together : but as our author has not attempted to prove that such restraint is universal without a single exception, his rule is evidently a *petitio principii*. Why may not two animals different in species produce a mixed breed? M. Buffon must say, that it is contrary to a law of nature. But has he given any evidence of this supposed law of nature? On the contrary, he proves it by various instances not to be a law of nature. He admits the sheep and the goat to be of different species; and yet we have his authority for affirming, that a he-goat and a ewe produce a mixed breed which generate for ever (a). The camel and the dromedary, though nearly related, are however no less distinct than the horse and the ass. The dromedary is less than the camel, more slender, and re-

(a) Vol. 10. p. 138.

markably

markably more swift of foot: it has but one bunch on its back, the camel has two: the race is more numerous than that of the camel, and more widely spread. One would not desire distinguishing marks more satisfying; and yet these two species propagate together, no less freely than the different races of men and of dogs. M. Buffon indeed, with respect to the camel and dromedary, endeavours to save his credit by a distinction without a difference. "They are," says he, "one species; but their races are different, and have been so past all memory (a)." Is not this the same with saying that the camel and the dromedary are different species of the same genus? which also holds true of the different species of men and of dogs. If our author will permit me to carry back to the creation the camel and the dromedary as two distinct races, I desire no other concession. He admits no fewer than ten kinds of goats, visibly distinguishable, which also propagate together; but says, that these are varieties only, though permanent and unchangeable. No difficulty

(a) Vol. 10. p. 1.

is unfurmountable, if words be allowed to pass without meaning. Nor does he even adhere to the same opinion: though in distinguishing a horse from an ass, he affirms the mule they generate to be barren; yet afterward, entirely forgetting his rule, he admits the direct contrary (*a*). At that rate a horse and an ass are of the same species. Did it never once enter into the mind of this author, that the human race would be strangely imperfect, if they were unable to distinguish a man from a monkey, or a hare from a hedge-hog, till it were known whether they can procreate together?

But it seems unnecessary after all to urge any argument against the foregoing rule, which M. Buffon himself inadvertently abandons as to all animals, men and dogs excepted. We are indebted to him for a remark, That not a single animal of the torrid zone is common to the old world and to the new. But how does he verify his remark? Does he ever think of trying whether such animals can procreate together? "They are," says he, "of differ-

(*a*) Vol. 12. p. 223.

“ent kinds, having no such resemblance
“as to make us pronounce them to be of
“the same kind. Linnæus and Briffon,”
he adds, “have very improperly given
“the name of the camel to the lama and
“the pacos of Peru. So apparent is the
“difference, that other writers class these
“animals with sheep. Wool however is
“the only circumstance in which a pa-
“cos resembles a sheep: nor doth the la-
“ma resemble a camel except in length
“of neck.” He distinguisheth in the same
manner, the true Asiatic tiger from several
American animals that bear the same
name. He mentions its size, its force, its
ferocity, the colour of its hair, the stripes
black and white that like rings surround
alternately its trunk, and are continued
to the tip of its tail; “characters,” says
he, “that clearly distinguish the true ti-
“ger from all animals of prey in the new
“world; the largest of which scarce e-
“quals one of our mastives.” And he
reasons in the same manner upon the o-
ther animals of the torrid zone (a). Here
truth obliges our author to acknowledge,

(a) See vol. 8. sect. Of animals common to the two
continents,

that we are taught by nature to distinguish animals into different kinds by visible marks, without regard to his artificial rule. And if so, there must be different kinds of men; for certain tribes differ visibly from each other, no less than the lama and pacos from the camel or from the sheep, nor less than the true tiger from the American animals of that name *. For proving that dogs were created of different kinds, what better evidence can be expected than that the kinds continue distinct to this day? Our author pretends to derive the mastiff, the bull-dog, the hound, the greyhound, the terrier, the water-dog, &c. all of them from the prick-ear'd shepherd's cur. Now, admitting the progeny of the original male and female cur to have suffered every possible alteration from climate, food, domestication; the result would be endless varieties, so that no one individual should resemble another. Whence then are deri-

* No person thinks that all trees can be traced back to one kind. Yet the figure, leaves, fruit, &c. of different kinds, are not more distinct, than the difference of figure, colour, &c. in the different races of men.

ved the different species of dogs above mentioned, or the different races or varieties, as M. Buffon is pleased to name them? Uniformity invariable must be a law in their nature, for it never can be ascribed to chance. There are mongrels, it is true, among dogs, from want of choice, or from a depraved appetite: but as all animals prefer their own kind, mongrels are few compared with animals of a true breed. There are mongrels also among men: the several kinds however continue distinct; and probably will so continue for ever.

There remains an argument against the system of M. Buffon with respect to dogs, still more conclusive. Allowing to climate its utmost influence, it may possibly have an effect upon the size and figure; but surely M. Buffon cannot seriously think, that the different instincts of dogs are owing to climate. A terrier, whose prey burrows under ground, is continually scraping the earth, and thrusting its nose into it. A hound has always its nose on the surface, in order to trace a hare by smell. The same instinct is remarkable in spaniels. It is by nature that these

creatures are directed to be continually going about, to catch the smell, and trace their prey. A greyhound, which has not the smelling-faculty, is constantly looking about for its prey. A shepherd's dog may be improved by education, but nature prompts it to guard the flock. A house-dog makes its round every night to protect its master against strangers, without ever being trained to it. Such dogs have a notion of property, and are trusty guardians of their master's goods : in his absence, no person dares lay hold of his hat or his great coat. Waggoners employ dogs of that kind to watch during night the goods they carry. Is it conceivable, that such different instincts, constantly the same in the same species, can proceed from climate, from mixture of breed, or from other accidental cause ?

The celebrated Linnæus, instead of describing every animal according to its kind, as Adam our first parent did, has wandered far from nature in classing animals. He distributes them into six classes, viz. *Mammalia*, *Aves*, *Amphibia*, *Pisces*, *Insecta*, *Vermes*. The *Mammalia* are distributed into seven orders, chiefly from their teeth,

teeth, viz. *Primates*, *Bruta*, *Feræ*, *Glires*,
Pecora, *Belluæ*, *Cete*. And the *Primates*
 are, *Homo*, *Simia*, *Lemur*, *Vespertilio*. What
 may have been his purpose in classing a-
 nimals so contrary to nature, I cannot
 guess, if it be not to enable us, from the
 nipples and teeth of any particular animal,
 to know where it is to be found in his
 book. It resembles the classing books in a
 library by size, or by binding, without
 regard to the contents: it may serve as a
 sort of dictionary; but to no other pur-
 pose. How whimsical is it to class toge-
 ther animals that nature hath widely sepa-
 rated, a man for example and a bat?
 What will a plain man think of a manner
 of classing, that denies a whale to be a
 fish? In classing animals, why does he
 confine himself to the nipples and the
 teeth, when there are many other distin-
 guishing marks? Animals are no less dis-
 tinguishable with respect to tails; long
 tails, short tails, no tails: nor less dis-
 tinguishable with respect to hands; some
 having four, some two, some none, &c.
 &c. Yet, after all, if any solid instruc-
 tion can be acquired from such classing,

I shall listen, not only with attention, but with satisfaction.

Now more particularly of man, after discussing other animals. If the only rule afforded by nature for classing animals can be depended upon, there are different species of men as well as of dogs: a mastiff differs not more from a spaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And if we have any belief in Providence, it ought to be so. Plants were created of different kinds to fit them for different climates, and so were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. Is there not then reason to conclude, that as there are different climates, so there are different species of men fitted for these different climates? The inhabitants of the frozen regions of the north, men, birds, beasts, fish, are all provided with a quantity of fat which guards them against cold. Even the trees are full of rosin. The island St Thomas, under the line, is extremely foggy; and the natives are fitted for that sort of weather, by the rigidity of their fibres. The fog is dispelled in July and August by dry winds; which give vi-
gour

gour to Europeans, whose fibres are relaxed by a moist atmosphere as by a warm bath. The natives, on the contrary, who are not fitted for a dry air, have more diseases in July and August than during the other ten months. On the other hand, instances are without number of men degenerating in a climate to which they are not fitted by nature ; and I know not of a single instance where in such a climate people have retained their original vigour. Several European colonies have subsisted in the torrid zone of America more than two centuries ; and yet even that length of time has not familiarised them to the climate : they cannot bear heat like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes transplanted from a country equally hot : they are far from equalling in vigour of mind or body the nations from which they sprung. The Spanish inhabitants of Carthagená in South America lose their vigour and colour in a few months. Their motions are languid ; and their words are pronounced in a low voice, and with long and frequent intervals. The offspring of Europeans born in Batavia, soon degenerate. Scarce one of them has talents sufficient

ficient to bear a part in the administration. There is not an office of trust but must be filled with native Europeans. Some Portuguese, who have been for ages settled on the sea-coast of Congo, retain scarce the appearance of men. South Carolina, especially about Charlestown, is extremely hot, having no sea-breeze to cool the air: Europeans there die so fast that they have not time to degenerate. Even in Jamaica, tho' more temperate by a regular succession of land and sea breezes, recruits from Britain are necessary to keep up the numbers *. The climate of the northern provinces resembles our own, and population goes on rapidly.

What means are employed by Providence to qualify different races of men for different climates, is a subject to which little attention has been given. It lies too far out of sight to expect a complete discovery; but facts carefully collected might afford some glimmering of light. In that

* As the Europeans lose vigour by the heat of the climate, the free negroes, especially those in the mountains, are the safeguard of the island; and it was by their means chiefly that a number of rebellious negro slaves were subdued in the year 1760.

view, I mention the following fact. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Senaar in Africa are true negroes, a jet-black complexion, thick lips, flat nose, curled woolly hair. The country itself is the hottest in the world. From the report of a late traveller, they are admirably protected by nature against the violence of the heat. Their skin is to the touch remarkably cooler than that of an European; and is so in reality, no less than two degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer. The young women there are highly prized by the Turks for that quality.

Thus it appears, that there are different races of men fitted by nature for different climates. Upon examination another fact will perhaps also appear, that the natural productions of each climate make the most wholesome food for the people who are fitted to live in it. Between the tropics, the natives live chiefly on fruits, seeds, and roots; and it is the opinion of the most knowing naturalists, that such food is of all the most wholesome for the torrid zone; comprehending the hot plants, which grow there to perfection, and tend greatly to fortify the stomach. In a temperate climate,

mate, a mixture of animal and vegetable food is held to be the most wholesome; and there both animals and vegetables abound. In a cold climate, animals are in plenty, but few vegetables that can serve for food to man. What physicians pronounce upon that head, I know not; but if we dare venture a conjecture from analogy, animal food will be found the most wholesome for such as are fitted by nature to live in a cold climate.

M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whose progeny can also procreate, are of one species, concludes, that all men are of one race or species; and endeavours to support that favourite opinion, by ascribing to the climate, to food, or to other accidental causes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he seriously of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cause, can account for the copper colour and smooth chin universal among the Americans, the prominence of the *pudenda* universal among Hottentot women, or the black nipple no less universal among female Samoides? The thick fogs of the island St Thomas may relax the fibres of

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the natives, but cannot make them more rigid than they are naturally. Whence then the difference with respect to rigidity of fibres between them and Europeans, but from original nature? Can one hope for belief in ascribing to climate the low stature of the Esquimaux, the smallness of their feet, or the overgrown size of their head; or in ascribing to climate the low stature of the Laplanders *, and their ugly visage. Lapland is indeed piercingly cold; but so is Finland, and the northern parts of Norway, the inhabitants of which are tall, comely, and well proportioned. The black colour of negroes, thick lips, flat nose, crisped woolly hair, and rank smell, distinguish them from every other race of men. The Abyssinians on the contrary are tall and well made, their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a sparkling black, lips thin, a nose rather high than flat. There is no such difference of climate between Abyssinia and Negroland

* By late accounts it appears that the Laplanders are originally Huns. Pere Hel, an Hungarian, made lately this discovery, when sent to Lapland for making astronomical observations.

as to produce these striking differences. At any rate, there must be a considerable mixture both of soil and climate in these extensive regions; and yet not the least mixture is perceived in the people.

If the climate have any commanding influence, it must be displayed upon the complexion chiefly; and in that article accordingly our author exults. “Man,” says he, “white in Europe, black in Africa, yellow in Asia, and red in America, is still the same animal, tinged only with the colour of the climate. Where the heat is excessive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are perfectly black; where less excessive, as in Abyssinia, the people are less black; where it is more temperate, as in Barbary and in Arabia, they are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and Lesser Asia, they are fair (a).” But here he triumphs without a victory: he is forc’d to acknowledge, that the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders, are of a fallow complexion; for which he has the following salvo, that the extremities of heat and of cold produce nearly the same effects on the skin,

(a) Book 5,

But he is totally silent upon a fact that alone overturns his whole system of colour, viz. that all Americans without exception are of a copper colour, tho' in that vast continent there is every variety of climate. The southern Chinese are white, tho' in the neighbourhood of the torrid zone ; and women of fashion in the island Otaheite, who cover themselves from the sun, have the European complexion. Neither doth the black colour of some Africans, nor the brown colour of others, correspond to the climate. The people of the desert of Zaa-ra, commonly termed Lower Ethiopia, though exposed to the vertical rays of the sun in a burning sand yielding not in heat even to Guinea, are of a tawny colour, far from being jet-black like negroes. The natives of Monomotapa are perfectly black, with crisped woolly hair, tho' the southern parts of that extensive kingdom are in a temperate climate. And the Caffres, even those who live near the Cape of Good Hope, are the same sort of people. The heat of Abyssinia approacheth nearer to that of Guinea ; and yet, as mentioned above, the inhabitants are not black. Nor will our author's ingenious observation

concerning the extremities of heat and cold account for the fallow complexion of the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders and northern Norwegians live in a climate no less cold than that of the people mentioned; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I say more, there are many instances of races of people preserving their original colour in climates very different from their own; and not a single instance of the contrary as far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pennsylvania without any visible change of colour: they continue jet-black as originally. The Moors in Hindostan retain their natural colour, tho' transplanted there more than three centuries ago. And the Mogul family continue white, like their ancestors the Tartars, tho' they have reigned in Hindostan above four centuries. Shaw, in his travels through Barbary, mentions a people inhabiting the mountains of Aurefs bordering upon Algiers on the south, who appeared to be of a different race from the Moors. Their complexion, far from swarthy, is fair and ruddy; and their hair a deep yellow, instead

stead of being dark as among the neighbouring Moors. He conjectures them to be a remnant of the Vandals, perhaps the tribe mentioned by Procopius in his first book of the Vandalic war. If the European complexion be proof against a hot climate for a thousand years, I pronounce that it will never yield to climate. In the suburbs of Cochin, a town in Malabar, there is a colony of industrious Jews of the same complexion they have in Europe. They pretend that they were established there during the captivity of Babylon: it is certain that they have been many ages in that country. Those who ascribe all to the sun, ought to consider how little probable it is, that the colour it impresses on the parents should be communicated to their infant children, who never saw the sun: I should be as soon induced to believe, with a German naturalist whose name has escaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient custom in Africa of dying the skin black. Let a European for years expose himself to the sun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown, his children will nevertheless have the same complexion with those in Europe.

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The Hottentots are continually at work, and have been for ages, to darken their complexion ; but that operation has no effect on their children. From the action of the sun is it possible to explain, why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy skin, which turns jet-black the eighth or ninth day * ?

Different tribes are distinguishable, no less by internal disposition than by external figure. Nations are for the most part so blended by war, by commerce, or by other means, that vain would be the attempt to trace out an original character in any cultivated nation. But there are savage tribes, which, as far as can be discovered, continue to this day pure without mixture, which act by instinct not art, which have not learned to disguise their passions : to such I confine the inquiry. There is no propensity in human nature more general than aversion from strangers, as will be made evident after-

* Different flowers derive their colour from nature, and preserve the same colour in every climate. What reason is there to believe, that climate should have greater influence upon the colour of men than of flowers ?

ward (a). And yet some nations must be excepted, not indeed many in number, who are remarkably kind to strangers ; by which circumstance they appear to be of a singular race. In order to set the exceptions in a clear light, a few instances shall be premised of the general propensity. The nations that may be the most relied on for an original character, are islanders at a distance from the continent and from each other. Among such, great variety of character is found. Some islands adjacent to New Guinea, are inhabited by negroes, a bold, mischievous, untractable race ; always ready to attack strangers when they approach the shore. The people of New Zealand are of a large size and of a hoarse voice. They appeared shy according to Tasman's account. Some of them however ventured on board in order to trade ; but finding opportunity, they surprised seven of his men in a shallop, and without the slightest provocation killed three of them, the rest having escaped by swimming. The island called *Recreation*, 16th degree southern latitude and 148th of longitude west from London, was discovered

(a) Book 2. sketch 1.

in Roggewein's voyage. Upon sight of the ships, the natives flocked to the shore with long pikes. The crew made good their landing, having by fire-arms beat back the natives; who, returning after a short interval, accepted presents of beads, small looking-glasses, and other trinkets, without shewing the least fear: they even assisted the crew in gathering herbs for those who were afflicted with the scurvy. Some of the crew traversing the island in great security, and trusting to some natives who led the way, were carried into a deep valley surrounded with rocks; where they were instantly attacked on every side with large stones: with difficulty they made their escape, but not without leaving several dead upon the field. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South sea, an island was discovered, which he named *Disappointment*. The shore was covered with natives in arms to prevent landing. They were black; and without cloathing except what covered the parts that nature teaches to hide. But a specimen is sufficient here, as the subject will be fully illustrated in the sketch referred to above.

The kindness of some tribes to strangers deserves more attention, being not a little singular. Gonneville, commander of a French ship in a voyage to the East Indies in the year 1503, was driven by a tempest into an unknown country, and continued there six months while his vessel was refitting. The manners he describes were in all appearance original. The natives had not made a greater progress in the arts of life, than the savage Canadians have done; ill clothed; and worse lodged, having no light in their cabins but what came in through a hole in the roof. They were divided into small tribes, governed each by a king; who, tho' neither better clothed nor lodged than others, had power of life and death over his subjects. They were a simple and peaceable people; and in a manner worshipped the French, providing them with necessaries, and in return thankfully receiving knives, hatchets, small looking-glasses, and other such baubles. In a part of California the men go naked; and are fond of feathers and shells. They are governed by a king, with great mildness; and of all savages are the most humane, even to strangers. An i-

island discovered in the South sea by Tasman, 21st degree of southern latitude and 177th of longitude west from London, was called by him *Amsterdam*. The natives, who had no arms offensive or defensive, treated the Dutch with great civility, except in being given to pilfering. At no great distance another island was discovered, named *Annamocha* by the natives, and *Rotterdam* by Tasman; possessed by a people resembling those last mentioned, particularly in having no arms. The Dutch, sailing round the island, saw abundance of cocoa-trees planted in rows, with many other fruit-bearing trees, kept in excellent order. Commodore Roggewein, commander of a Dutch fleet, discovered, anno 1721, a new island in the South sea; inhabited by a people lively, active, and swift of foot; of a sweet and modest deportment; but timorous and faint-hearted; for having on their knees presented some refreshments to the Dutch, they retired with precipitation. Numbers of idols cut in stone were placed along the coast, in the figure of men with large ears, and the head covered with a crown; the whole nicely proportioned and highly finished.

nished. They fled for refuge to these idols: and they could do no better; for they had no weapons either offensive or defensive. Neither was there any appearance of government or subordination; for they all spoke and acted with equal freedom. This island, situated 28 degrees 30 minutes southern latitude, and about 115 degrees of longitude west from London, is by the Dutch called *Easter* or *Pasch Island* *. The Commodore directing his course north-west, discovered in the southern latitude of 12 degrees, and in the longitude of 190, a cluster of islands, planted with variety of fruit-trees, and bearing herbs, corn, and roots, in plenty. When the ships approached the shore, the inhabitants came in their canoes with fish, cocoa-nuts, Indian figs, and other refreshments; for which they received small looking-glasses, strings of beads, and other toys. These islands were well peopled: many thousands thronged to the shore to see the ships, the men being armed with bows and arrows, and appearing

* The women were very loving, enticing the Dutchmen by every female art to the most intimate familiarity.

to be governed by a chieftain : they had the complexion of Europeans, only a little more sun-burnt. They were brisk and lively, treating one another with civility ; and in their behaviour expressing nothing wild nor savage. Their bodies were not painted ; but handsomely clothed, from the middle downward, with silk fringes in neat folds. Large hats screened the face from the sun, and collars of odorous flowers surrounded the neck. The view of the country is charming, finely diversified with hills and vallies. Some of the islands are ten miles in circumference, some fifteen, some twenty. The historian adds, that these islanders are in all respects the most civilized and the best tempered people he discovered in the South sea. Far from being afraid, they treated the Dutch with great kindness ; and expressed much regret at their departure. These islands got the name of *Bowman's islands*, from the captain of the Tienhoven, who discovered them. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South sea, while he was passing through the streights of Magellan, some natives approached in their canoes ; and upon invitation came
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on board, without fear, or even shyness. They at the same time appeared grossly stupid; and particularly could not comprehend the use of knives, offered to them in a present. In another part of the straits, the natives were highly delighted with the presents made them. M. Bougainville, in his voyage round the world, describes a people in the straits of Magellan, probably those last mentioned, as of small stature, tame and peaceable, having scarce any cloathing in a climate bitterly cold. Commodore Byron discovered another island in the South sea covered with trees, which was named *Byron island*. The inhabitants were neither savage nor shy, trafficking freely with the crew, tho' they seemed addicted to thieving. One of them ventured into the ship. After leaving Otaheite, Mr Banks and Dr Solander, sailing westward, discovered a cluster of islands, termed by them *Society islands*: the natives were extremely civil, and appeared to have no aversion to strangers. The island of Oahena, north-west from that of Otaheite, is a delightful spot; the soil fertile, and the shores adorned with fruit-trees of various kinds. The inhabitants

habitants are well proportioned, with regular engaging features ; the women uncommonly beautiful and delicate. The inhabitants behaved with great hospitality and probity to the crew of the ship in which these gentlemen lately made a voyage round the world.

To find the inhabitants of these remote islands differing so widely from the rest of the world, as to have no aversion to strangers, but on the contrary showing great kindness to the first they probably ever saw, is a singular phenomenon. It is vain here to talk of climate ; because in all climates we find an aversion to strangers. From the instances given above, let us select two islands, or two clusters of islands, suppose for example Bowman's islands inhabited by Whites, and those adjacent to New Guinea inhabited by Blacks. Kindness to strangers is the national character of the former, and hatred to strangers is the national character of the latter. Virtues and vices of individuals, depend on causes so various, and so variable, as to give an impression of chance more than of design. We are not always certain of uniformity in the conduct even of the same person ;

person ; far less of different persons however intimately related : how small is the chance, that sons will inherit their father's virtues or vices ? In most countries, a savage who has no aversion to strangers, nor to neighbouring clans, would be noted as singular : to find the same quality in every one of his children, would be surprising : and would be still more so, were it diffused widely through a multitude of his descendants. Yet a family is as nothing compared with a whole nation ; and when we find kindness to strangers a national character in certain tribes, we reject with disdain the notion of chance, and perceive intuitively that effects so regular and permanent must be owing to a constant and invariable cause. Such effects cannot be accidental, more than the uniformity of male and female births in all countries and at all times. They cannot be accounted for from education nor from example ; which indeed may contribute to spread a certain fashion or certain manners, but cannot be their fundamental cause. Where the greater part of a nation is of one character, education and example may extend it over the whole ; but the character of
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that greater part can have no foundation but nature. What resource then have we for explaining the opposite manners of the islanders above mentioned, but that they are of different races ?

The same doctrine is strongly confirmed upon finding courage or cowardice to be a national character. Individuals differ widely as to these ; but a national character of courage or cowardice must depend on a permanent and invariable cause. I therefore proceed to instances of national courage and cowardice, that the reader may judge for himself, whether he can discover any other cause for such steady uniformity but diversity of race.

The northern nations of Europe and Asia have at all times been remarkable for courage. Lucan endeavours to account for the courage of the Scandinavians from a firm belief, universal among them, that they would be happy in another world.

*Vobis auctioribus, umbrae,
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt ; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio : longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo ; quos ille, timorum*

*Maximus, haud urget leti metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces
Mortis * (a).*

Pretty well reasoned for a poet ! but among all nations the soul is believed to be immortal, tho' all nations have not the courage of the Scandinavians. The Caledonians were eminent for that virtue ; and yet had no such opinion of happiness after death, as to make them fond of dying. Souls after death were believed to have but a gloomy sort of existence, like what is de-

- * “ If dying mortals dooms they sing aright,
- “ No ghosts descend to dwell in endless night ;
- “ No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
- “ Nor seek the dreary silent shades below ;
- “ But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
- “ And other bodies in new worlds they find.
- “ Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
- “ And, like a line, Death but divides the space ;
- “ A stop which can but for a moment last,
- “ A point between the future and the past.
- “ Thrice happy they beneath the northern skies,
- “ Who that worst fear, the fear of death, despise ;
- “ Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
- “ But rush undaunted on the pointed steel ;
- “ Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
- “ To spare that life which must so soon return.”

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(a) Lib. I.

scribed by Homer (a). Their courage therefore was a gift of nature, not of faith. The people of Malacca and of the neighbouring islands, who are all of the same race and speak the same language, are fierce, turbulent, and bold above any other of the human species; tho' they inhabit the torrid zone, held commonly to be the land of cowardice. They never observe a treaty of peace when they have any temptation to break it; and are perpetually at war with their neighbours, or with one another. Instances there are, more than one, of twenty-five or thirty of them in a boat, with no other weapons but poniards, venturing to attack a European ship of war. These men inhabit a fertile country, which should naturally render them indolent and effeminate; a country abounding with variety of exquisite fruits and odoriferous flowers in endless succession, sufficient to sink any other people into voluptuousness. They are a remarkable exception from the observation of Herodotus, "That it is not given by
" the gods to any country, to produce
" rich crops and warlike men." This in-

(a) *Odyssey*, b. 11.

stance, with what are to follow, show past contradiction, that a hot climate is no enemy to courage. The inhabitants of New Zealand are of all men the most intrepid, and the least apt to be alarmed at danger. The Giagas are a fierce and bold people in the midst of the torrid zone of Africa : and so are the Ansieki, bordering on Loango. The wild Arabs, who live mostly within the torrid zone, are bold and resolute, holding war to be intended for them by Providence. The African negroes, tho' living in the hottest known country, are yet stout and vigorous, and the most healthy people in the universe. I need scarcely mention again the negroes adjacent to New Guinea, who have an uncommon degree of boldness and ferocity. But I mention with pleasure the island Otaheite, discovered in the South sea by Wallis, because the inhabitants are not exceeded by any other people in firmness of mind. Tho' the Dolphin was probably the first ship they had ever seen, yet they resolutely marched to the shore, and attacked her with a shower of stones. Some volleys of small shot made them give way : but returning with redoubled ardour, they

did not totally lose heart till the great guns thundered in their ears. Nor even then did they run away in terror ; but advising together, they assumed looks of peace, and signified a willingness to forbear hostilities. Peace being settled, they were singularly kind to our people, supplying their wants, and mixing with them in friendly intercourse *. When Mr Banks and Dr Solander were on the coast of New Holland, the natives, seeing some of our men fishing near the shore, singled out a number of their own equal to those in the boat, who marching down to the water-edge, challenged the strangers to fight them ; an instance of true heroic courage. The people in that part of New Holland must be of a race very different from those whom Dampier saw.

A noted author (a) holds all savages to be bold, impetuous, and proud ; assigning for a cause, their equality and independence. As in that observation he seems to lay no weight on climate, and as little

* It is remarkable that these people roast their meat with hot stones, as the Caledonians did in the days of Ossian.

(a) Mr Ferguson.

on original disposition, it is with regret that my subject leads me in this public manner to differ from him with respect to the latter. The character he gives in general to all savages, is indeed applicable to many savage tribes, our European forefathers in particular ; but not to all. It but faintly suits even the North-American savages, whom our author seems to have had in his eye ; for in war they carefully avoid open force, relying chiefly on stratagem and surprise. They value themselves, it is said, upon saving men ; but as that motive was no less weighty in Europe, and indeed every where, the proneness of our forefathers to open violence, demonstrates their superiority in active courage. The following incidents reported by Charlevoix give no favourable idea of North-American boldness. The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was in the year 1690 attacked by some Iroquois. They approached silently, preparing to scale the palisade, when a musket-shot or two made them retire. Advancing a second time, they were again repulsed, wondering that they could discover none but a woman, who was seen
every

every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as resolute as if supported by a numerous garrison. The hopes of storming a place without men to defend it, occasioned reiterated attacks. After two days siege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the same nation appeared before the fort so unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to shut the gate. With the young woman there was not a soul but one raw soldier. She showed herself with her assistant, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; changing her dress frequently in order to give some appearance of a garrison, and always firing opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without success.

But if the Americans abound not with active courage, their passive courage is beyond conception. Every writer expatiates on the torments they endure, not only patiently, but with singular fortitude; deriding their tormentors, and braving their utmost cruelty. North-American savages differ indeed so widely from those formerly in Europe, as to render it highly improbable

probable that they are of the same race. Passive courage they have even to a wonder; but abound not in active courage: our European forefathers, on the contrary, were much more remarkable for the latter than for the former. The Kamiskatkans in every article resemble the North-Americans. In war they are full of stratagem, but never attack openly if they can avoid it. When victorious, they murder without mercy, burn their prisoners alive, or tear out their bowels. If they be surrounded and cannot escape, they turn desperate, cut the throats of their wives and children, and throw themselves into the midst of their enemies. And yet these people are abundantly free. Their want of active courage is the more surprising, because they make no difficulty of suicide when they fall into any distress. But their passive courage is equal to that of the Americans: when tortured in order to extort a confession, they show the utmost firmness; and seldom discover more than what they freely confess at their first examination.

The savages of Guiana are indolent, good-natured, submissive, and a little cowardly;

ardly; tho' they are on a footing with the North-Americans in equality and independence. The inhabitants of the Marian or Ladrone islands live in a state of perfect equality: every man avenges the injury done to himself; and even children are regardless of their parents. Yet these people are great cowards: in battle indeed they utter loud shouts; but it is more to animate themselves than to terrify the enemy. The negroes on the slave-coast of Guinea are good-natured and obliging; but not remarkable for courage *. The Laplanders are of all men the most timid: upon the slightest surprise they fall down in a swoon like the feeblest female in England: thunder deprives them of their five senses. The face of their country is nothing but rocks covered with moss: it would be scarce habitable but for rain-deer, on which the Laplanders chiefly depend for food.

* The Cormantees, a tribe of negroes on the Gold coast, are indeed brave and intrepid. When kindly treated in the West Indies, they make excellent servants. The negroes of Senegal are remarkable in the West Indies for fidelity and good understanding.

The Macassars, inhabitants of the island Celebes in the torrid zone, differ from all other people. They have active courage above even the fiercest European savages ; and they equal the North-American savages in passive courage. During the reign of Cha Naraya King of Siam, a small party of Macassars who were in the king's pay having revolted, it required a whole army of Siamites to subdue them. Four Macassars, taken alive, were cruelly tortured. They were beaten to mummy with cudgels, iron pins were thrust under their nails, all their fingers broken, the flesh burnt off their arms, and their temples squeezed between boards ; yet they bore all with unparalleled firmness. They even refused to be converted to Christianity, tho' the Jesuits offered to intercede for them. A tiger, let loose, having fastened on the foot of one of them, the man never once offered to draw it away. Another, without uttering a word, bore the tiger breaking the bones of his back. A third suffered the animal to lick the blood from his face, without shrinking, or turning away his eyes. During the whole of that horrid spectacle, they never once bewailed

themselves, nor were heard to utter a groan.

The frigidity of the North-Americans, men and women, differing in that particular from all other savages, is to me evidence of a separate race. And I am the more confirmed in that opinion, when I find a celebrated writer, whose abilities no person calls in question, endeavouring in vain to ascribe that circumstance to moral and physical causes. *Si Pergama dextra defendi posset.*

In concluding from the foregoing facts that there are different races of men, I reckon upon strenuous opposition; not only from men biassed against what is new or uncommon, but from numberless sedate writers, who hold every distinguishing mark, internal as well as external, to be the effect of soil and climate. Against the former, patience is my only shield; but I cannot hope for any converts to a new opinion, without removing the arguments urged by the latter.

Among the endless number of writers who ascribe supreme efficacy to the climate, Vitruvius shall take the lead. The first chapter of his sixth book is entirely employ'd

employ'd in describing the influence of climate on the constitution and temper. The following is the substance. " For
" the sun, where he draws out a moderate
" degree of moisture, preserves the body
" in a temperate state; but where his
" rays are more fierce, he drains the body
" of moisture. In very cold regions,
" where the moisture is not suck'd up by
" the heat, the body sucking in the dewy
" air, rises to a great size, and has a deep
" tone of voice. Northern nations ac-
" cordingly, from cold and moisture, have
" large bodies, a white skin, red hair,
" gray eyes, and much blood. Nations,
" on the contrary, near the equator, are
" of small stature, tawny complexion,
" curled hair, black eyes, slender legs, and
" little blood. From want of blood they
" are cowardly: but they bear fevers well,
" their constitution being formed by heat.
" Northern nations, on the contrary, sink
" under a fever; but from the abund-
" ance of blood, they are bold in war."

In another part of the chapter he adds,
" From the thinness of the air and enli-
" vening heat, southern nations are quick
" in thought, and acute in reasoning.

“ Those in the north, on the contrary,
“ who breathe a thick and cold air, are
“ dull and stupid.” And this he illustrates from serpents, which in summer-heat are active and vigorous; but in winter, become torpid and immoveable. He then proceeds as follows. “ It is then not
“ at all surprising, that heat should sharpen the understanding, and cold blunt
“ it. Thus the southern nations are ready in counsel and acute in thought;
“ but make no figure in war, their courage being exhausted by the heat of
“ the sun. The inhabitants of cold
“ climates, prone to war, rush on with
“ vehemence without the least fear; but
“ are slow of understanding.” Then he proceeds to account, upon the same principle, for the superiority of the Romans in arms, and for the extent of their empire.
“ For as the planet Jupiter lies between
“ the fervid heat of Mars and the bitter
“ cold of Saturn; so Italy, in the middle
“ of the temperate zone, possesses all that
“ is favourable in either climate. Thus
“ by conduct in war, the Romans overcome the impetuous force of northern
“ barbarians; and by vigour of arms
“ confound

“ confound the politic schemes of her
 “ fouthern neighbours. Divine provi-
 “ dence appears to have placed the Ro-
 “ mans in that happy fituation, in order
 “ that they might become mafters of the
 “ world.”—— Vegetius accounts for the
 different characters of men from the fame
 principle : “ Omnes nationes quæ vicinæ
 “ funt foli, nimio calore ficcatas, amplius
 “ quidem fapere, fed minus habere fan-
 “ guinis dicunt: ac propterea confian-
 “ tiam ac fiduciam cominus non habere
 “ pugnandi, quia metuunt vulnera, qui fe
 “ exiguum fanguinem habere noverunt.
 “ Contra, feptentrionales populi, remoti a
 “ folis ardoribus, inconfultiores quidem,
 “ fed tamen largo fanguine redundantes,
 “ funt ad bella promptiffimi * (a).”——

* “ Nations near the fun, being exficcatcd by ex-
 “ ceffive heat, are faid to have a greater acutenefs
 “ of underftanding but lefs blood : on which ac-
 “ count, in fighting they are deficient in firmnefs
 “ and refolution ; and dread the being wounded, as
 “ confcious of their want of blood. The northern
 “ people, on the contrary, removed from the ar-
 “ dor of the fun, are lefs remarkable for the powers
 “ of the mind ; but abounding in blood, they are
 “ prone to war.”

(a) Lib. 1. cap. 2. De re militari.

Servius,

Servius, in his commentary on the *Æneid* of Virgil (*b*), says, “ Afri verſipelles, Græci leves, Galli pigrioris ingenii, quod natura climatum facit *.” — Mallet, in the introduction to his history of Denmark, copying Vitruvius and Vegetius, ſtrains hard to derive ferocity and courage in the Scandinavians from the climate: “ A great abundance of blood, fibres ſtrong and rigid, vigour inexhauftible, formed the temperament of the Germans, the Scandinavians, and of all other people who live under the ſame climate. Robuſt by the climate, and hardened with exerciſe; confidence in bodily ſtrength formed their character. A man who relies on his own force, cannot bear reſtraint, nor ſubmiſſion to the arbitrary will of another. As he has no occaſion for artifice, he is altogether a ſtranger to fraud or diſſimulation. As he is always ready to repel force by force, he is not ſuſpicious nor

* “ The Africans are ſubtle and full of ſtratagem, the Greeks are fickle, the Gauls flow of parts, all which diverſities are occaſioned by the climate.”

(*b*) Lib. 6. ver. 724.

“ diſtruſtful.

“ distrustful. His courage prompts him
 “ to be faithful in friendship, generous,
 “ and even magnanimous. He is averse
 “ to occupations that require more assiduity than action; because moderate
 “ exercise affords not to his blood and
 “ fibres that degree of agitation which
 “ suits them. Hence his disgust at arts
 “ and manufactures; and as passion labours to justify itself, hence his opinion,
 “ that war only and hunting are
 “ honourable professions.” Before subscribing to this doctrine, I wish to be satisfied of a few particulars. Is our author certain, that inhabitants of cold countries have the greatest quantity of blood? And is he certain, that courage is in every man proportioned to the quantity of his blood *? Is he also certain, that ferocity and love of war did universally obtain among

* At that rate, the loss of an ounce of blood may turn the balance. Courage makes an essential ingredient in magnanimity and heroism: are such elevated virtues corporeal merely? is the mind admitted for no share? This indeed would be a mortifying circumstance in the human race. But even supposing courage to be corporeal merely, it is however far from being proportioned to the quantity of blood:

mong the northern Europeans? Tacitus gives a very different character of the Chauci, who inhabited the north of Germany: “Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti, secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agunt, non per injurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus * (a).” Again, with respect to the

blood: a greater quantity than can be circulated freely and easily by the force of the heart and arteries, becomes a disease, termed a *plethora*. Bodily courage is chiefly founded on the solids. When by the vigour and elasticity of the heart and arteries a brisk circulation of blood is produced, a man is in good spirits, lively and bold; a greater quantity of blood, instead of raising courage to a higher pitch, never fails to produce sluggishness, and depression of mind.

(a) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 35.

* “ So immense an extent of country is not possessed

the Arii, he bears witness, that beside ferocity, and strength of body, they were full of fraud and artifice. Neither do the Laplanders nor Samoides correspond to his description, being remarkable for pusillanimity, tho' inhabitants of a bitter-cold country *. Lastly, a cold climate doth not always make the inhabitants averse to occupations that require more assiduity than action: the people of Iceland formerly were much addicted to study and literature; and for many centuries were the chief historians of the north. They

“ fessed only, but filled by the Chauçi; a race of
 “ people the noblest among the Germans, and who
 “ chuse to maintain their grandeur by justice rather
 “ than by violence. Confident of their strength,
 “ without the thirst of increasing their possessions,
 “ they live in quietness and security: they kindle
 “ no wars; they are strangers to plunder and to
 “ rapine; and what is the chief evidence both of
 “ their power and of their virtue; without oppress-
 “ ing any, they have attained a superiority over all.
 “ Yet when occasion requires, they are prompt to
 “ take the field; and their troops are speedily rai-
 “ sed.”

* Scheffer, in his history of Lapland, differs widely from the authors mentioned; for he ascribes the pusillanimity of the Laplanders to the coldness of their climate.

are to this day fond of chefs, and spend much of their time in that amusement: there is scarce a peasant but who has a chefs-board and men. Mr Banks and Dr Solander report, that the peasants of Iceland are addicted to history, not only of their own country, but of that of Europe*.

The

* A French author (a) upon this subject observes, that like plants we are formed by the climate; and that as fruits derive their taste from the soil, men derive their character and disposition from the air they breathe. "The English," says he, "owe to the foggynefs of their air, not only their rich pasture, but the gloominefs of their disposition; which makes them violent in their passions, because they pursue with ardor every object that relieves them from melancholy. By that gloominefs, they are exhausted, and rendered insensible to the pleasures of life. Depressed in mind, they are unable to endure pain; as it requires strength of mind to suffer without extreme impatience. They are never content with their lot, hating tranquillity as much as they love liberty." Where a fact is known to be true, any thing will pass for a cause; and shallow writers deal in such causes. I need no better instance than the present: for, if I mistake not, effects directly opposite may be drawn from the cause assigned by this writer; as plausible

(a) Lettres d'un François.

The most formidable antagonist remains still on hand, the celebrated Montesquieu, who is a great champion for the climate; observing, that in hot climates people are timid like old men, and in cold climates bold like young men. This in effect is to maintain, that the torrid zone is an unfit

at least, I do not say better founded on truth: I will make an attempt: it may amuse the reader. And to avoid disputing about facts, I shall suppose the fogginess of the fens of Lincoln and Essex to be general, which he erroneously seems to believe. From that supposition I reason thus: "The fogginess of the English air makes the people dull and languid. They suffer under a constant depression of spirits; and scarce know what it is to joke, or even to laugh at a joke. They loiter away their time without feeling either pleasure or pain; and yet have not resolution to put an end to an insipid existence. It cannot be said that they are content with their lot, because there is pleasure in content; but they never think of a change. Being reduced to a passive nature from the influence of climate, they are fitted for being slaves: nor would they have courage to rebel, were they even inclined." Were the character here delineated that of the English nation, instead of the opposite, the argument would at least be plausible. But superficial reasoners will plunge into the depth of philosophy, without ever thinking it necessary to serve an apprenticeship.

habitation for men ; that they degenerate in it, lose their natural vigour, and even in youth become like old men. That author certainly intended not any imputation on Providence ; and yet, doth it not look like an imputation, to maintain, that so large a portion of the globe is fit for beasts only, not for men ? He ought to have explained, why some men may not be fitted for a hot climate, as others are for a temperate, or for a cold one. There does not appear any opposition between heat and courage, more than between cold and courage : on the contrary, courage seems more connected with the former than with the latter. The fiercest and boldest animals, the lion, for example, the tiger, the panther, thrive best in the hottest climates. The great condor of Peru, in the torrid zone, is a bird not a little fierce and rapacious. A lion visibly degenerates in a temperate climate. The lions of Mount Atlas, which is sometimes crowned with snow, have not the boldness, nor the force, nor the ferocity of such as tread the burning sands of Zaara and Biledulgerid. This respectable author, it is true, endeavours to support his opinion from
natural

natural causes. These are ingenious and plausible; but unluckily they are contradicted by stubborn facts; which will appear upon a very slight survey of this globe. The Samoides and Laplanders are living instances of uncommon pusillanimity in the inhabitants of a cold climate; and instances, not few in number, have been mentioned of warlike people in a hot climate. To these I add the Hindows, whom our author will not admit to have any degree of courage; tho' he acknowledges, that, prompted by religion, the men voluntarily submit to dreadful tortures, and that even women are ambitious to burn themselves alive with their deceased husbands. In vain does he endeavour to account for such extraordinary exertions of fortitude, active as well as passive, from the power of imagination; as if imagination could operate more forcibly in a woman to burn herself alive, than on a man to meet his enemy in battle. The Malaysans and Scandinavians live in opposite climates, and yet are equally courageous. Providence has placed these nations, each of them, in its proper climate: cold would benumb a Malayan in Sweden,

Sweden, heat would enervate a Swede in Malacca; and both would be rendered cowards. I stop here; for to enter the lists against an antagonist of so great fame, gives me a feeling as if I were treading on forbidden ground.

It is my firm opinion, that neither temper nor talents have much dependence on climate. I cannot discover any probable exception, if it be not a taste for the fine arts. Where the influence of the sun is great, people are enervated with heat: where little, they are benumbed with cold. A clear sky with moderate heat exhibit a very different scene: the cheerfulness they produce disposes men to enjoyment of every kind. Greece, Italy, and the Lesser Asia, are delicious countries, affording variety of natural beauties to feast every sense: and men accustomed to enjoyment, search for it in art as well as in nature; the passage from the one to the other being easy and inviting. Hence the origin and progress of statuary and of painting, in the countries mentioned. It has not escaped observation, that the rude manners of savages are partly owing to the roughness and barrenness of uncultivated land. Eng-
land

land has few natural beauties to boast of: even high mountains, deep valleys, impetuous torrents, and such other wild and awful beauties, are rare. But of late years, that country has received manifold embellishments from its industrious inhabitants; and in many of its scenes may now compare with countries that are more favoured by the sun or by nature. Its soil has become fertile, its verdure enlivening, and its gardens the finest in the world. The consequence is what might have been foreseen: the fine arts are gaining ground daily. May it not be expected, that the genius and sensibility of the inhabitants, will in time produce other works of art, to rival their gardens? How delightful to a true-hearted Briton is the prospect, that London, instead of Rome, may become the centre of the fine arts!

Sir William Temple is of opinion, that courage depends much on animal food. He remarks, that the horse and the cock are the only animals of courage that live on vegetables. Provided the body be kept in good plight, I am apt to think, that the difference of food can have little influence on the mind. Nor is Sir William's remark supported

supported by experience. Several small birds, whose only food is grain, have no less courage than the cock. The wolf, the fox, the vulture, on the other hand, are not remarkable for courage, though their only food is the flesh of animals.

The colour of the Negroes, as above observed, affords a strong presumption of their being a different species from the Whites; and I once thought, that the presumption was supported by inferiority of understanding in the former. But it appears to me doubtful, upon second thoughts, whether that inferiority may not be occasioned by their condition. A man never ripens in judgement nor in prudence but by exercising these powers. At home, the negroes have little occasion to exercise either: they live upon fruits and roots, which grow without culture: they need little cloathing: and they erect houses without trouble or art *. Abroad, they are miserable slaves, having no en-

* The Negro slaves in Jamaica, who have Sunday only at command for raising food to themselves, live as well, if not better, than the free Negroes who command every day of the week. Such is the effect of indolence from want of occupation.

couragement either to think or to act. Who can say how far they might improve in a state of freedom, were they obliged, like Europeans, to procure bread with the sweat of their brows? Some nations in Negroland, particularly that of Whidah, have made great improvements in government, in police, and in manners. The negroes on the Gold coast are naturally gay: they apprehend readily what is said to them, have a good judgement, are equitable in their dealings, and accommodate themselves readily to the manners of strangers. And yet, after all, there seems to be some original difference between the Negroes and Hindows. In no country are food and raiment procured with less labour than in the southern parts of Hindostan, where the heat is great: and yet no people are more industrious than the Hindows.

I shall close the survey with some instances that seem to differ widely from the common nature of man. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the heart of Africa, are in effect land-pirates, at war with all the world. They indulge in polygamy; but bury all their children the

moment of birth, and chuse in their stead the most promising children taken in war. There is no principle among animals more prevalent than affection to offspring: supposing the Giagas to be born without hands or without feet, would they be more distinguishable from the rest of mankind *? The author of an account of Guiana, mentioning a deadly poison composed by the natives, says, “ I do not find
 “ that even in their wars they ever use
 “ poisoned arrows, And yet it may be
 “ wondered, that a people living under no
 “ laws, actuated with no religious prin-

* I have oftener than once doubted whether the authors deserve credit from whom this account is taken; and, after all, I do not press it upon my readers. There is only one consideration that can bring it within the verge of probability, viz. the little affection that male savages have for their new-born children, which appears from the ancient practice of exposing them. The affection of the mother commences with the birth of the child; and had she a vote, no infant would ever be destroyed. But as the affection of the father begins much later, the practice of destroying new-born infants may be thought not altogether incredible in a wandering nation, who live by rapine, and who can provide themselves with children more easily than by the tedious and precarious method of rearing them.

“ ciple,

“ ciple, and unrestrained by the fear of
 “ present or future punishment, should
 “ not sometimes employ that fatal poi-
 “ son for gratifying hatred, jealousy,
 “ or revenge. But in a state of na-
 “ ture, though there are few restraints,
 “ there are also fewer temptations to
 “ vice ; and the different tribes are
 “ doubtless sensible, that poisoned arrows
 “ in war would upon the whole do more
 “ mischief than good.” This writer it
 would seem has forgot, that prospects of
 future good or evil never have influence
 upon savages. Is it his opinion, that fear
 of future mischief to themselves, would
 make the negroes of New Guinea abstain
 from employing poisoned arrows against
 their enemies ? To account for manners
 so singular in the savages of Guiana, there
 is nothing left but original disposition.
 The Japanese resent injuries in a manner
 that has not a parallel in any other part of
 the world : it would be thought inconsis-
 tent with human nature were it not well
 vouched. Others wreak their resentment
 on the person who affronts them ; but an
 inhabitant of Japan wreaks it on himself :
 he rips up his own belly. Kempfer reports

the following instance. A gentleman going down the great stair of the Emperor's palace, passed another going up, and their swords happened to clash. The person descending took offence: the other excused himself, saying that it was accidental; adding, that the swords only were concerned, and that the one was as good as the other. I'll show you the difference, says the person who began the quarrel: he drew his sword, and ripped up his own belly. The other, piqued at being thus prevented in revenge, hastened up with a plate he had in his hand for the Emperor's table; and returning with equal speed, he in like manner ripped up his belly in sight of his antagonist, saying, "If I had not been serving my prince, you should not have got the start of me: but I shall die satisfied, having show'd you that my sword is as good as yours." The same author gives an instance of uncommon ferocity in the Japanese, blended with manners highly polished. In the midst of a large company at dinner, a young woman, straining to reach a plate, unwarily suffered wind to escape. Astounded and confounded, she raised her breasts to

to her mouth, tore them with her teeth, and expired on the spot. The Japanese are equally singular in some of their religious opinions. They never supplicate the gods in distress; holding, that as the gods enjoy uninterrupted bliss, such supplications would be offensive to them. Their holidays accordingly are dedicated to feasts, weddings, and all public and private rejoicings. It is delightful to the gods, say they, to see men happy. They are far from being singular in thinking that a benevolent deity is pleased to see men happy; but nothing can be more inconsistent with the common feelings of men, than to hold, that in distress it is wrong to supplicate the author of our being for relief, and that he will be displeased with such supplication. In deep affliction, there is certainly no balm equal to that of pouring out the heart to a benevolent deity, and expressing entire resignation to his will.

In support of the foregoing doctrine, many particulars still more extraordinary might have been quoted from Greek and Roman writers: but truth has no occasion for artifice; and I would not take advantage

tage of celebrated names to vouch facts that appear incredible or doubtful. The Greeks and Romans made an illustrious figure in poetry, rhetoric, and all the fine arts ; but they were little better than novices in natural history. More than half of the globe was to them the *Terra Australis incognita* ; and imagination operates without controul, when it is not checked by knowledge : the ignorant at the same time are delighted with wonders ; and the most wonderful story is always the most welcome. This may serve as an apology for ancient writers, even when they relate and believe facts to us incredible. Men at that period were ignorant in a great measure of nature, and of the limits of her operations. One concession will cheerfully be made to me, that the writers mentioned, who report things at second-hand, are much more excusable than the earliest of our modern travellers, who pretend to vouch endless wonders from their own knowledge. Natural history, that of man especially, is of late years much ripened : no improbable tale is suffered to pass without a strict examination ; and I have been careful to adopt no facts, but what
are

are vouched by late travellers and writers of credit. Were it true, what Diodorus Siculus reports, on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus, concerning the Ichthyophages on the east coast of Afric, it would be a more pregnant proof of a distinct race of men, than any I have discovered. They are described to be so stupid, that even when their wives and children are killed in their sight, they stand insensible, and give no signs either of anger or of compassion. This I cannot believe upon so slight testimony ; especially as the Greeks and Romans were at that time extremely credulous, being less acquainted with neighbouring nations, than we are with the Antipodes. Varro, in his treatise *De re rustica*, reports it as an undoubted truth, that in Lusitania mares were impregnated by the west wind ; and both Pliny and Columella are equally positive. The Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, Yvica, are at no great distance from Sicily ; and yet Diodorus the Sicilian reports of the inhabitants, that at the solemnization of marriage all the male friends, and even the household servants, enjoy'd the bride before the bridegroom was admitted,

ted. *Credat Judæus appella.* It would not be much more difficult to make me believe what is said by Pliny of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breast? or of the Arimaspi, who had but one eye, placed in the middle of the forehead; or of the Astomi, who having no mouth, could neither eat nor drink, but lived upon smelling; or of a thousand other absurdities which Pliny relates, with a grave face, in the 6th book of his natural history, cap. 30. and in the 7th book, cap. 2.

Thus upon an extensive survey of the inhabited parts of our globe, many nations are found differing so widely from each other, not only in complexion, features, shape, and other external circumstances, but in temper and disposition, particularly in two capital articles, courage, and behaviour to strangers, that even the certainty of different races could not make one expect more striking varieties. Doth M. Buffon think it sufficient to say dryly, that such varieties may possibly be the effect of climate, or of other accidental causes? The presumption is, that the varieties subsisting at present have always sub-

fitted; which ought to be held as true, till positive evidence be brought of the contrary: instead of which we are put off with mere suppositions and possibilities.

But not to rest entirely upon presumptive evidence, to me it appears clear from the very frame of the human body, that there must be different races of men fitted for different climates: Few animals are more affected than men generally are, not only with change of seasons in the same climate, but with change of weather in the same season: Can such a being be fitted for all climates equally? Impossible. A man must at least be hardened by nature against the slighter changes of seasons or weather: he ought to be altogether insensible of such changes. Yet from Sir John Pringle's observations on the diseases of the army, to go no further, it appears, that even military men, who ought of all to be the hardiest, are greatly affected by them. Horses and horned cattle sleep on the bare ground, wet or dry, without harm; and yet are not made for every climate: can a man be made for every climate, who is so much more delicate,

that he cannot sleep on wet ground without hazard of some mortal disease?

But the argument I chiefly rely on is, That were all men of one species, there never could have existed, without a miracle, different kinds, such as exist at present. Giving allowance for every supposable variation of climate or of other natural causes, what can follow, as observed about the dog-kind, but endless varieties among individuals, as among tulips in a garden, so as that no individual shall resemble another? Instead of which, we find men of different kinds, the individuals of each kind remarkably uniform, and differing no less remarkably from the individuals of every other kind. Uniformity without variation is the offspring of nature, never of chance.

There is another argument that appears also to have weight. Horses with respect to size, shape, and spirit, differ widely in different climates. But let a male and a female of whatever climate be carried to a country where horses are in perfection, their progeny will improve gradually, and will acquire in time the perfection of their kind. Is not this a proof,

proof, that all horses are of one kind? If so, men are not all of one kind; for if a White mix with a Black in whatever climate, or a Hottentot with a Samoide, the result will not be either an improvement of the kind, or the contrary; but a mongrel breed differing from both parents.

It is thus ascertained beyond any rational doubt, that there are different races or kinds of men, and that these races or kinds are naturally fitted for different climates: whence we have reason to conclude, that originally each kind was placed in its proper climate, whatever change may have happened in later times by war or commerce.

There is a remarkable fact that confirms the foregoing conjectures. As far back as history goes, or tradition kept alive by history, the earth was inhabited by savages divided into many small tribes, each tribe having a language peculiar to itself. Is it not natural to suppose, that these original tribes were different races of men, placed in proper climates, and left to form their own language?

Upon summing up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one hesitate

a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, viz. “ That God created many pairs of
“ the human race, differing from each
“ other both externally and internally ;
“ that he fitted these pairs for different
“ climates, and placed each pair in its
“ proper climate ; that the peculiarities
“ of the original pairs were preserved entire in their descendents ; who, having
“ no assistance but their natural talents,
“ were left to gather knowledge from experience, and in particular were left
“ (each tribe) to form a language for itself ; that signs were sufficient for the
“ original pairs, without any language
“ but what nature suggests ; and that a
“ language was formed gradually, as a
“ tribe increased in numbers and in different occupations, to make speech necessary ?” But this opinion, however plausible, we are not permitted to adopt ; being taught a different lesson by revelation, viz. That God created but a single pair of the human species. Tho’ we cannot doubt of the authority of Moses, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it seems to contradict every

every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account, different races of men were not formed, nor were men framed originally for different climates. All men must have spoken the same language, viz. that of our first parents. And what of all seems the most contradictory to that account, is the savage state: Adam, as Moses informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly must have been an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the savage state? To account for that dismal catastrophe, mankind must have suffered some terrible convulsion.

That terrible convulsion is revealed to us in the history of the tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Genesis, which is, “ That for many centuries after
“ the deluge, the whole earth was of one
“ language, and of one speech; that they
“ united to build a city on a plain in the
“ land of Shinar, with a tower whose top
“ might reach unto heaven; that the
“ Lord beholding the people to be one,
“ and

“ and to have all one language, and that
“ nothing would be restrained from them.
“ which they imagined to do, confound-
“ ed their language that they might not
“ understand one another ; and scattered
“ them abroad upon the face of all the
“ earth.” Here light breaks forth in the
midst of darkness. By confounding the
language of men, and scattering them a-
broad upon the face of all the earth, they
were rendered savages. And to harden
them for their new habitations, it was ne-
cessary that they should be divided into
different kinds, fitted for different cli-
mates. Without an immediate change of
bodily constitution, the builders of Babel
could not possibly have subsisted in the
burning region of Guinea, or in the fro-
zen region of Lapland ; especially without
houses, or any other convenience to pro-
tect them against a destructive climate.
Against this history it has indeed been
urged, “ That the circumstances mention-
“ ed evince it to be purely an allegory ;
“ that men never were so frantic as to
“ think of building a tower whose top
“ might reach to heaven ; and that it is
“ grossly absurd, taking the matter lite-
“ rally,

“ rally, that the Almighty was afraid of
“ men, and reduced to the necessity of
“ saving himself by a miracle.” But that
this is a real history, must necessarily be
admitted, as the confusion of Babel is the
only known fact that can reconcile sacred
and profane history.

And this leads us to consider the diver-
sity of languages *. If the common lan-
guage

* As the social state is essential to man, and
speech to the social state, the wisdom of providence
in fitting men for acquiring that necessary art, de-
serves more attention than is commonly bestowed
on it. The Oran Outang has the external organs
of speech in perfection; and many are puzzled to
account why it never speaks. But the external or-
gans of speech make but a small part of the neces-
sary apparatus. The faculty of imitating sounds is
an essential part; and wonderful would that faculty
appear, were it not rendered familiar by daily prac-
tice: a child of two or three years, is able, by na-
ture alone without the least instruction, to adapt its
organs of speech to every articulate sound; and a
child of four or five years can pitch its windpipe so
as to emit a sound of any elevation, which enables
it with an ear to imitate the songs it hears. But a-
bove all the other parts, sense and understanding are
essential to speech. A parrot can pronounce arti-
culate sounds, and it has frequently an inclination
to speak; but, for want of understanding, none of
the

guage of men had not been confounded upon their attempting the tower of Babel, I affirm, that there never could have been but one language. Antiquaries constantly suppose a migrating spirit in the original inhabitants of this earth; not only without evidence, but contrary to all probability. Men never desert their connections nor their country without necessity: fear of enemies and of wild beasts, as well as the attraction of society, are more than sufficient to restrain them from wandering; not to mention that savages are peculiarly fond of their natal soil *. The first

the kind can form a single sentence. Has an Orang Outang understanding to form a mental proposition? has he a faculty to express that proposition in sounds? and supposing him able to express what he sees and hears, what would he make of the connective and disjunctive particles?

* With respect to the supposed migrating spirit, even Bochart must yield to Kempfer in boldness of conjecture. After proving, from difference of language and from other circumstances, that Japan was not peopled by the Chinese, Kempfer without the least hesitation settles a colony there of those who attempted the tower of Babel. Nay he traces most minutely their route to Japan; and concludes,

I

that

first migrations were probably occasioned by factions and civil wars ; the next by commerce. Greece affords instances of the former, Phœnicia of the latter. Unless upon such occasions, members of a family or of a tribe will never retire farther from their fellows than is necessary for food ; and by retiring gradually, they lose neither their connections nor their manners, far less their language, which is in constant exercise. As far back as

that they must have travelled with great expedition, because their language has no tincture of any other. He did not think it necessary to explain, what temptation they had to wander so far from home ; nor why they settled in an island, not preferable either in soil or climate to many countries they must have traversed.

An ingenious French writer observes, that plausible reasons would lead one to conjecture, that men were more early polished in islands than in continents ; as people crowded together soon find the necessity of laws to restrain them from mischief. And yet, says he, the manners of islanders and their laws are commonly the latest formed. A very simple reflection would have unfolded the mystery. Many many centuries did men exist without thinking of navigation. That art was not invented till men, straitened in their quarters upon the continent, thought of occupying adjacent islands.

history carries us, tribes without number are discovered, each having a language peculiar to itself. Strabo (*a*) reports, that the Albanians were divided into several tribes, differing in external appearance and in language. Cæsar found in Gaul several such tribes; and Tacitus records the names of many tribes in Germany. There are a multitude of American tribes that to this day continue distinct from each other, and have each a different language. The mother-tongues at present, tho' numerous, bear no proportion to what formerly existed. We find original tribes gradually enlarging; by conquest frequently, and more frequently by the union of weak tribes for mutual defence. Such events lessen the number of languages. The Coptic is not a living language any where. The Celtic tongue, once extensive, is at present confined to the highlands of Scotland, to Wales, to Britany, and to a part of Ireland. In a few centuries, it will share the fate of many other original tongues: it will totally be forgotten.

If men had not been scattered every

(*a*) Book 2.

where by the confusion of Babel, another particular must have occurred, differing no less from what has really happened than that now mentioned. As paradise is conjectured to have been situated in the heart of Asia, the surrounding regions, for the reason above given, must have been first peopled; and the civilization and improvements of the mother-country were undoubtedly carried along to every new settlement. In particular, the colonies planted in America, and the South-sea islands, must have been highly polished; because, being at the greatest distance, they probably were the latest. And yet these and other remote people, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, remain to this day in the original savage state of hunting and fishing.

Thus, had not men wildly attempted to build a tower whose top might reach to heaven, all men would not only have had the same language, but would have made the same progress toward maturity of knowledge and civilization. That deplorable event reversed all nature: by scattering men over the face of all the earth, it

deprived them of society, and rendered them savages. From that state of degeneracy, they have been emerging gradually. Some nations, stimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progress; some have proceeded more slowly; and some continue savages. To trace out that progress toward maturity in different nations, is the subject of the present undertaking.

SKETCHES

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N .

B O O K I .

Progreſs of M E N I N D E P E N D E N T
O F S O C I E T Y .

S K E T C H I .

Progreſs of Food and Population.

IN temperate climes, men fed originally on fruits that grow without culture, and on the fleſh of land-animals. As ſuch animals become ſhy when often hunted, there is a contrivance of nature, no leſs ſimple than effectual, which engages men to bear with chearfulneſs the fatigues of hunting,

hunting, and the uncertainty of capture ; and that is, an appetite for hunting. Hunger alone is not sufficient : savages, who act by sense not by foresight, move not when the stomach is full ; and it would be too late when the stomach is empty, to form a hunting-party. As that appetite is common to all savages whose food depends on hunting ; it is an illustrious instance of providential care, to adapt the internal constitution of man to his external circumstances *. The appetite

* It would be an agreeable undertaking, to collect all the instances where the internal constitution of man is adapted to his external structure, and to other circumstances ; but it would be a bold undertaking, as the instances are extremely numerous ; and in the course of this work there will be occasion to mark several of them. “ How finely
 “ are the external parts of animals adjusted to their
 “ internal dispositions ! That strong and nervous
 “ leg armed with tearing fangs, how perfectly does
 “ it correspond to the fierceness of the lion ! Had
 “ it been adorned like the human arm with fingers
 “ instead of fangs, the natural energies of a lion
 “ had been all of them defeated. That more delicate
 “ structure of an arm terminating in fingers so
 “ nicely diversified, how perfectly does it correspond
 “ to the pregnant invention of the human
 “ soul !

tite for hunting, tho' among us little necessary for food, is to this day visible in our young men, high and low, rich and poor. Natural propensities may be rendered faint or obscure, but never are totally eradicated.

Fish was not early the food of man. Water is not our element; and savages probably did not attempt to draw food from

“foul! Had these fingers been fangs, what had become of poor Art that procures us so many elegancies and utilities! 'Tis here we behold the harmony between the visible world and the invisible (a).” The following is another instance of the same kind, which I mention here because it falls not under common observation. How finely in the human species are the throat and the ear adjusted to each other, the one to emit musical sounds, the other to enjoy them! the one without the other would be an useless talent. May it not be justly thought, that to the power we have of emitting musical sounds by the throat we owe the invention of musical instruments? A man would never think of inventing a musical instrument, but in order to imitate sounds that his ear had been delighted with. But there is a faculty in man still more remarkable, which serves to correct the organs of external sense, where they tend to mislead him. I give two curious instances. The image of every visible object is

(a) Harris.

from the sea or from rivers, till land-animals turned scarce. Plutarch in his *Symposiacs* observes, that the Syrians and Greeks of old abstained from fish. Menelaus (*a*) complains, that his companions had been reduced by hunger to that food; and tho' the Grecian camp at the siege of Troy was on the sea-shore, there is not in Homer a single hint of their feeding on fish. We learn from Dion Cassius, that

is painted on the *retina tunica*, and by that means the object makes an impression on the mind. In what manner this is done, cannot be explained; because we have no conception how mind acts on body, or body on mind. But as far as we can conceive or conjecture, a visible object ought to appear to us inverted, because the image painted on the *retina tunica* is inverted. But this is corrected by the faculty mentioned, which makes us perceive objects as they really exist. The other instance follows. As a man has two eyes, and sees with each of them, every object naturally ought to appear double; and yet with two eyes we see every object single, precisely as if we had but one. Many philosophers, Sir Isaac Newton in particular, have endeavour'd to account for this phenomenon by mechanical principles; but evidently without giving satisfaction. To explain this phenomenon, it appears to me that we must have recourse to the faculty mentioned acting against mechanical principles.

(*a*) Book 4. of the *Odyssæy*.

the Caledonians did not eat fish, tho' they had them in plenty ; which is confirmed by Adamannus, a Scotch historian, in his life of St Columba. The ancient Caledonians depended almost entirely on deer for food ; because in a cold country the fruits that grow spontaneously afford little nourishment ; and domestic animals, which at present so much abound, were not early known in the north of Britain.

Antiquaries talk of acorns, nuts and other shell-fruits, as the only vegetable food that men had originally ; overlooking wheat, rice, barley, &c. which must from the creation have grown spontaneously : for surely, when agriculture first commenced, it did not require a miracle to procure the seeds of these plants *. The
Laplanders,

* Writers upon natural history have been solicitous to discover the original climate of these plants ; but without much success. The original climate of plants left to nature, cannot be a secret : but in countries well peopled, the plants mentioned are not left to nature : the seeds are carefully gathered, and stored up for food. As this practice could not fail to make these seeds scarce, agriculture was early thought of, which, by introducing plants into new soils and new climates, has rendered the original
Vol. I. M climate

Laplanders, possessing a country where corn will not grow, make bread of the inner bark of trees; and Linnæus reports, that swine there fatten on that food, as well as in Sweden upon corn.

Plenty of food procured by hunting and fishing, promotes population: but as consumption of food increases with population, wild animals, sorely persecuted, become not only more rare but more shy.

climate obscure. If we can trace that climate, it must be in regions destitute of inhabitants, or but thinly peopled. Anson found in the island Juan Fernandez many spots of ground covered with oats. The Sioux, a very small tribe in North America, possess a vast country, where oats grow spontaneously in meadows and on the sides of rivers, which make part of their food, without necessity of agriculture. While the French possessed Port Dauphin in the island of Madagascar, they raised excellent wheat. That station was deserted many years ago; and wheat to this day grows naturally among the grass in great vigour. In the country about Mount Tabor in Palestine, barley and oats grow spontaneously. In the kingdom of Siam, there are many spots where rice grows year after year, without any culture. Diodorus Siculus is our authority for saying, that in the territory of Leontinum, and in other parts of Sicily, wheat grew wild without any culture. And it does so at present about Mount Etna.

Men,

Men, thus pinched for food, are excited to try other means for supplying their wants. A fawn, a kid, or a lamb, taken alive and tamed for amusement, suggested probably flocks and herds, and introduced the shepherd-state. Changes are not perfected but by slow degrees: hunting and fishing continue for a long time favourite occupations; and the few animals that are domesticated, serve as a common stock to be distributed among individuals, according to their wants. But as the idle and indolent, tho' the least deserving, are thus the greatest consumers of the common stock, an improvement crept in that every family should rear a stock for themselves. Men by that means being taught to rely on their own industry, display'd the hoarding-principle, which multiplied flocks and herds exceedingly. And thus the shepherd-state was perfected, plenty of food being supplied at home, without ranging the woods or the waters. Hunting and fishing, being no longer necessary for food, became an amusement merely, and a gratification of the original appetite for hunting.

The finger of God may be clearly tra-

ced in the provision made of animal food for man. Gramenivorous animals, perhaps all, make palatable and wholesome food. I except not the horse: some nations feed on it; others do not, because it is more profitable by its labour. Carnivorous animals, generally speaking, make not wholesome food nor palatable. The first-mentioned animals are gentle, and easily tamed: the latter are fierce, not easily tamed, and uncertain in temper when tamed. Grass grows every where in temperate regions; and men beside can multiply animal food without end, by training domestic animals to live on turnip, carrot, potato, and other roots. Herodotus adds the following admirable reflection: "We may rationally conjecture, " that divine providence has rendered extremely prolific such creatures as are " naturally fearful, and serve for food; " lest they should be destroy'd by constant consumption; whereas the rapacious and cruel are almost barren. The " hare, which is the prey of beasts, birds, " and men, is a great breeder: a lioness, on the contrary, the strongest and " fiercest

“ fiercest of beasts, brings forth but
“ once.”

The shepherd-state is friendly to population. Men by plenty of food multiply apace; and in process of time, neighbouring tribes, straitened in their pasture, go to war for extension of territory, or migrate to land not yet occupied. Necessity, the mother of invention, suggested agriculture. When corn growing spontaneously was rendered scarce by consumption, it was an obvious thought to propagate it by art: nature was the guide, which carries on its work of propagation, with seeds that drop from a plant in their maturity, and spring up new plants. As the land was possessed in common, the seed of course was sown in common; and the product was stored in a common repository, to be parcelled out among individuals in want, as the common stock of animals had been formerly. We have for our authority Diodorus Siculus, that the Celtiberians divided their land annually among individuals, to be laboured for the use of the public; and that the product was stored up, and distributed from time to time among the necessitous. A lasting
division

division of the land among the members of the state, securing to each man the product of his own skill and labour, was a great spur to industry, and multiplied food exceedingly. Population made a rapid progress, and government became an art; for agriculture and commerce cannot flourish without salutary laws.

Natural fruits ripen to greater perfection in a temperate than in a cold climate, and cultivation is more easy; which circumstances make it highly probable, that agriculture became first an art in temperate climes. The culture of corn was so early in Greece, as to make a branch of its fabulous history: in Egypt it must have been coeval with the inhabitants; for while the Nile overflows, they cannot subsist without corn (*a*). Nor without corn could the ancient monarchies of Assyria and Babylon have been so populous and powerful as they are said to have been. In the northern parts of Europe, wheat, barley, pease, and perhaps oats, are foreign plants: as the climate is not friendly to corn, agriculture must have crept northward by slow degrees; and even at

(*a*) Historical Law-tracts, tract i.

present, it requires no small portion both of skill and industry to bring corn to maturity in such a climate. Hence it may be inferred with certainty, that the shepherd-state continued longer in northern climates than in those nearer the sun. Cold countries however are friendly to population; and the northern people, multiplying beyond the food that can be supplied by flocks and herds, were compelled to throw off many swarms in search of new habitations. Their frequent migrations were for many years a dreadful scourge to neighbouring nations. People, amazed at the multitude of the invaders, judged, that the countries from whence they issued must have been exceedingly populous; and hence the North was termed *officina gentium*. But scarcity of food in the shepherd-state was the true cause; the north of Europe, in all probability, is as well peopled at present as ever it was, tho' its migrations have ceased, corn and commerce having put an end to that terrible scourge *. Denmark at present feeds

2,000,000

* *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.* Montesquieu accounts as follows for the great swarms of Barbarians

2,000,000 inhabitants; Sweden, according to a list made up *anno* 1760, 2,383,113; and these countries must be much more populous than of old, when over-run with immense woods, and when agriculture was unknown. Had the Danes and Norwegians been acquainted with agriculture in the ninth and tenth centuries when they poured out multitudes upon their neighbours, they would not have ventured their lives in frail vessels upon a tempestuous ocean, in order to distress nations who were not their enemies. But

rians that overwhelmed the Roman empire. “ Ces
 “ effaims de Barbares qui sortirent autrefois du
 “ nord, ne paroissent plus aujourd’hui. Les vio-
 “ lences des Romains avoient fait retirer les peuple
 “ du midi au nord : tandis que la force qui les con-
 “ tenoit subsista, ils y resterent ; quand elle fut af-
 “ foiblie, ils se repandirent de toutes parts.” *Gran-
 deur des Romains*, c. 16.— [*In English thus* : “ The
 “ swarms of Barbarians who poured formerly from
 “ the north, appear no more. The violence of the
 “ Roman arms had driven those nations from the
 “ south towards the north : there they remained
 “ during the subsistence of that force which retain-
 “ ed them ; but that being once weakened, they
 “ spread abroad to every quarter.”]—It has quite
 escaped him, that men cannot, like water, be damm’d
 up without being fed.

hunger is a cogent motive; and hunger gave to these pirates superiority in arms above every nation that enjoy'd plenty at home. Luckily such depredations must have intervals; for as they necessarily occasion great havock even among the victors, the remainder finding sufficiency of food at home, rest there till an increasing population forces them again to action *. Agriculture, which fixes people to a spot, is an invincible obstacle to migration; and happy it is for Europe, that this art, now universally diffused, has put an end for ever to that scourge more destructive than a pestilence: people find now occupation and subsistence at home, without infesting others. Agriculture is a great blessing: it not only affords us food in plenty, but secures the fruits of our industry from hungry and rapacious invaders †.

That

* Joannes Magnus, in the 8th book of his history of the Goths, mentions, that a third part of the Swedes, being compelled by famine to leave their native country, founded the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy.

† Mahomet Bey, King of Tunis, was dethroned by his subjects; but having the reputation of the

That the progress above traced must have proceeded from some vigorous impulse, will be admitted considering the prevailing influence of custom: once hunters, men will always be hunters, till they be forc'd out of that state by some overpowering cause. Hunger, the cause here assigned, is of all the most overpowering; and the same cause, overcoming indolence and idleness, has introduced manufactures, commerce, and variety of arts †.

The

philosopher's stone, he was restored by the Dey of Algiers, upon promising to communicate the secret to him. Mahomet with pomp and solemnity sent a plough; intimating, that agriculture is the strength of a kingdom, and that the only philosopher's stone is a good crop, which may be easily converted into gold.

† M. Buffon discoursing of America, "Is it not
 " singular," says he, "that in a world composed
 " almost wholly of savages, there never should have
 " been any society or commerce between them and
 " the animals about them? There was not a dome-
 " stic animal in America when discovered by Co-
 " lumbus, except among the polished people of
 " Mexico and Peru. Is not this a proof, that man,
 " in his savage state, is but a sort of brute animal;
 " having no faculties but to provide for his subsist-
 " ence,

The progress here delineated has, in all temperate climates of the old world, been precisely uniform; but it has been different in the extremes of cold and hot climates. In very cold regions, which produce little vegetable food for man, the hunter-state was originally essential. In temperate regions, as observed above, men subsisted partly on vegetable food, which is more or less plentiful in proportion to the heat of the climate. In the torrid zone, natural fruits are produced in such plenty and perfection, as to be more

“ence, by attacking the weak and avoiding the
“strong; and having no idea of his superiority
“over other animals, which he never once thinks
“of bringing under subjection? This is the more
“surprising, as most of the American animals are
“by nature docile and timid.” Our author, without being sensible of it, lays a foundation for a satisfactory answer to these questions, by what he adds, That in the whole compass of America, when discovered by the Spaniards, there were not half the number of people that are in Europe; and that such scarcity of men favoured greatly the propagation of wild animals, which had few enemies and much food. Was it not obvious to conclude from these premises, that while men, who by nature are fond of hunting, have game in plenty, they never think of turning shepherds?

than sufficient for a moderate population : and in case of extraordinary population, the transition to husbandry is easy. There are found accordingly in every populous country of the torrid zone, crops of rice, maize, roots, and other vegetable food, raised by the hand of man. As hunting becomes thus less and less necessary in the progress from cold to hot countries, the appetite for hunting keeps pace with that progress : it is vigorous in very cold countries, where men depend on hunting for food : it is less vigorous in temperate countries, where they are partly fed with natural fruits ; and there is scarce any vestige of it in hot countries, where vegetables are the food of men, and where meat is an article of luxury. The original occupation of savages both in cold and temperate climates is hunting, altogether essential in the former as the only means of procuring food. The next step of the progress in both, is the occupation of a shepherd ; and there the progress stops short in very cold regions, unfit for corn. Lapland in particular produces no vegetable but moss, which is the food of no animal but the rein-deer. This circumstance

stance solely is what renders Lapland habitable by men. Without rain-deer, the sea-coasts within the reach of fish would admit some inhabitants ; but the inland parts would be a desert. As the swiftness of that animal makes it not an easy prey, the taming it for food must have been early attempted ; and its natural docility made the attempt succeed. It yields to no other animal in usefulness : it is equal to a horse for draught : its flesh is excellent food ; and the female gives milk more nourishing than that of a cow : its fur is fine ; and the leather made of its skin, is both soft and durable. In Tartary, tho' a great part of it lies in a temperate zone, there is little corn. As far back as tradition reaches, the Tartars have had flocks and herds ; and yet, in a great measure, they not only continue hunters, but retain the ferocity of that state : they are not fond of being shepherds, and have no knowledge of husbandry. This in appearance is singular ; but nothing happens without a cause. Tartary is one continued mountain from west to east, rising high above the countries to the south ; and declining gradually to the northern ocean,

ocean, without a single hill to intercept the bitter blasts of the north. A few spots excepted, a tree above the size of a shrub cannot live in it *. In Europe, the mountains of Norway and Lapland are a comfortable screen against the north wind: whence it is, that the land about Stockholm (*a*) produces both trees and corn; and even about Abo (*b*) the climate is tolerable. Great Tartary abounds with pasture; but extreme cold renders it very little capable of corn. Through all Chinese Tartary, even as low as the 43d degree of latitude, the frost continues seven or eight months yearly; and that country, tho' in the latitude of France, is as cold as Iceland. The causes are its nitrous soil, and its height without any shelter from the west wind that has passed through an immense continent extremely cold. A certain place near the source of the river Kavamhuran, and within 80 leagues of the

* May not a similar situation in some parts of North America, be partly the occasion of the cold that is felt there, beyond what Europe feels in the same latitude?

(*a*) Latitude 59.

(*b*) Latitude 61.

great

great wall, was found by Father Verbeist to be 3000 geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Thus the Tartars, like the Laplanders, are chained to the shepherd-state, and can never advance to be husbandmen. If population among them ever become so considerable as to require more food than the shepherd-state can supply, migration will be their only resource.

In every step of the progress, the torrid zone differs. We have no evidence that either the hunter or shepherd state ever existed there: the inhabitants at present subsist on vegetable food; and probably did so from the beginning. In Manila, one of the Philippine islands, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit, all the year round. The natives, driven from the sea-coast to the inland parts, have no particular place of abode, but live under the shelter of trees, which afford them food as well as habitation; and when the fruit is consumed in one spot, they remove to another. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear fruit twice a-year: a sprig planted bears fruit within the year. And this picture of Manila answers to numberless places in the torrid zone. The
Marian

Marian or Ladrone islands are extremely populous ; and yet the inhabitants live entirely on fish, fruits, and roots. The inhabitants of the new Philippine islands live on cocoa-nuts, salads, roots, and fish. The inland negroes make but one meal a-day, which is in the evening. Their diet is plain, consisting mostly of rice, fruits, and roots. The island of Otaheite is healthy, the people tall and well made ; and by temperance, vegetables and fish being their chief nourishment, they live to a good old age, almost without any ailment. There is no such thing known among them as rotten teeth : the very smell of wine or spirits is disagreeable ; and they never deal in tobacco nor spiceries. In many places Indian corn is the chief nourishment, which every man plants for himself. The inhabitants of Biledulgerid and the desert of Zaara have but two meals a-day, one in the morning, and one in the evening. Being temperate, and strangers to diseases arising from luxury, they generally live to a great age. Sixty with them is the prime of life, as thirty is in Europe. An inhabitant of Madagascar will travel two or three days without any

food but a sugar-cane. There is indeed little appetite for animal food in hot climates ; tho' beef and fowl have in small quantities been introduced to the tables of the great, as articles of luxury. In America are observable some variations from the progress ; but these are reserved for a separate sketch (a).

With respect to population, that plenty of food is its chief cause, may be illustrated by the following computation. The southern provinces of China produce two crops of rice in a year, sometimes three ; and an acre well cultivated gives food to ten persons. The peasants go almost naked ; and the better sort wear but a single garment made of cotton, of which as much is produced upon an acre as may clothe four or five hundred. Hence the extreme populousness of China and other rice countries. The Cassave root, which serves the Americans for bread, is produced in such plenty, that an acre of it will feed more persons than six acres of wheat. It is not then for want of food that America is ill peopled. That Negroland is well peopled

(a) Book 2. sketch 12.

is past doubt, considering the great annual draughts from that country to America, without any apparent diminution of numbers. Instances are not extremely rare, of 200 children born to one man by his different wives. Food must be in great plenty to enable a man to maintain so many children. It would require wonderful skill and labour to make Europe so populous : an acre and a half of wheat is barely sufficient to maintain a single family of peasants ; and their cloathing requires many acres more. A country where the inhabitants live chiefly by hunting, must be very thin of inhabitants ; as 10,000 acres, or double that number, are no more than sufficient for maintaining a single family. If the multiplication of animals depended chiefly on fecundity, wolves would be more numerous than sheep : a great proportion of the latter are deprived of the procreating power, and many more of them are killed than of the former : yet we see every where large flocks of sheep, seldom a wolf ; for what reason, other than that the former have plenty of food, the latter very little ? A wolf resembles a savage who lives by
 hunting,

hunting, and consumes the game of five or six thousand acres.

Waving the question, Whether the human race be the offspring of one pair or of many, it appears the intention of Providence, that the earth should be peopled, and population be kept up by the ordinary means of procreation. By these means a tribe soon becomes too populous for the primitive state of hunting and fishing: it may even become too populous for the shepherd-state; but it cannot easily become too populous for husbandry. In the two former states, food must decrease in quantity as consumers increase in number: but agriculture has the signal property of producing, by industry, food in proportion to the number of consumers. In fact the greatest quantities of corn and of cattle are commonly produced in the most populous districts, where each family has its proportion of land. An ancient Roman, sober and industrious, made a shift to maintain his family on the product of a few acres*.

The

* Scotland must have been very ill peopled in the days of its fifth James, when at one hunting in the

The bounty given in Britain for exporting corn is friendly to population in two respects ; first, because husbandry requires many hands ; and, next, because the bounty lowers the price of corn at home. To give a bounty for exporting cattle would obstruct population ; because pasture requires few hands, and exportation raises the price of cattle at home. From the single port of Cork, *an.* 1735, were exported 107,161 barrels of beef, 7379 barrels of pork, 13,461 casks of butter, and 85,727 firkins of the same commodity. Thus a large portion of Ireland is set apart for feeding other nations. What addition of strength would it not be to Britain, if that large quantity of food were consumed at home by useful manufacturers !

No manufacture contributes more to population than that of silk. It employs as many hands as wool ; and it withdraws no land from tillage or pasture.

Lapland is but thinly inhabited even high country of Roxburghshire, that prince killed three hundred and sixty red-deer ; and in Athol, at another time, six hundred, beside roes, wolves, foxes, and wild cats.

for

for the shepherd-state, the country being capable of maintaining a greater number of rain-deer, and consequently a greater number of the human species, than are found in it. Yet the Laplanders are well acquainted with private property: every family has tame rain-deer of their own, to the extent sometimes of four or five hundred: they indeed appear to have more rain-deer than there is a demand for. Why then is Lapland so thinly peopled? Either it must have been but lately planted, or the inhabitants are not prolific. I incline to the latter, upon the authority of Scheffer. Tartary is also but thinly peopled; and as I find not that the Tartars are less prolific than their neighbours, it is probable that Tartary, being the most barren country in Asia, has not been early planted. At the same time, population has been much retarded by the restless and roaming spirit of that people: it is true, they have been forced into the shepherd-state by want of food; but so averse are they to the sedentary life of a shepherd, that they trust their cattle to slaves, and persevere in their favourite occupation of hunting. This disposition has been a
dreadful

dreadful pest to the human species, the Tartars having made more extensive conquests, and destroyed more men, than any other nation known in history: more cruel than tigers, they seemed to have no delight but in blood and massacre, without any regard either to sex or age *. Luckily for the human species, rich spoils dazzled their eyes, and roused an appetite for wealth. Avarice is sometimes productive of good: it moved these monsters to sell the conquered people for slaves, which preserved the lives of millions. Conquests, however successful, cannot go on for ever; they are not accomplished without great loss of men; and the conquests of the Tartars depopulated their country.

But as some centuries have elapsed without any considerable eruption of that fiery people, their numbers must at present be considerable by the ordinary progress of population. Have we not reason to dread new eruptions, like what for-

* When the Tartars under Genhizkan conquered China, it was seriously deliberated, whether they should not kill all the inhabitants, and convert that vast country into pasture-fields for their cattle.

merly happened? Our foreknowledge of future events extends not far; but in all appearance we have nothing to fear from that quarter. The Tartars subdued a great part of the world by ferocity and undaunted courage, supported by liberty and independence. They acknowledged Genhizkan as their leader in war; but were as far from being slaves, as the Franks were when they conquered Gaul. Tamerlane again enjoyed but a substituted power, and never had the boldness to assume the title of Chan or Emperor. But the Tartars have submitted to the same yoke of despotism that their ferocity imposed upon others; and being now governed by a number of petty tyrants, their courage is broken by slavery, and they are no longer formidable to the rest of mankind *.

Depopulation

* “Gallos in bellis floruisse accepimus,” says Tacitus in his life of Agricola; “mox segnitie cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate.”

[*In English thus*: “We have heard that the Gauls formerly made a figure in war; but becoming a prey to indolence, the consequence of peace, they lost at once their valour and their liberty.”]

— Spain, which defended itself with great bravery
against

Depopulation enters into the present sketch as well as population. The latter follows not with greater certainty from equality of property, than the former from inequality. In every great state, where the people by prosperity and opulence are sunk into voluptuousness, we hear daily complaints of depopulation. Cookery depopulates like a pestilence; because when it becomes an art, it brings within the compass of one stomach what is sufficient for ten in days of temperance; and is so far worse than a pestilence, that the people never recruit again. The inhabitants of France devour at present more food than the same number did formerly. The like is observable in Britain, and in every country where luxury abounds. Remedies are proposed and put in practice, celibacy disgraced, marriage encouraged, and rewards given for a numerous offspring. All in vain! The only effectual remedies are to encourage husbandry, and

against the Romans, became an easy prey to the Vandals in the fifth century. When attacked by the Romans, it was divided into many free states: when attacked by the Vandals, it was enervated by slavery under Roman despotism.

to repress luxury. Olivares hoped to re-people Spain by encouraging matrimony. Abderam, a Mahometan king of Cordova, was a better politician. By encouraging industry and procuring plenty of food, he repeopled his kingdom in less than thirty years *.

Luxury is a deadly enemy to population, not only by intercepting food from the industrious, but by weakening the power of procreation. Indolence accompanies voluptuousness, or rather is a branch of it: women of rank seldom move, but employ others to move them; and a woman enervated by indolence and intemperance, is ill qualified for the severe labour of child-bearing. Hence it is, that people of rank, where luxury prevails, are not prolific. This infirmity not only prevents popula-

* A foundling-hospital is a greater enemy to population, than liberty to expose infants, which is permitted to parents in China and in some other countries. Both of them indeed encourage matrimony: but in such hospitals, thousands perish yearly beyond the ordinary proportion; whereas few infants perish by the liberty of exposing them, parental affection prevailing commonly over the distress of poverty. And, upon the whole, population gains more by that liberty than it loses.

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tion, but increases luxury by accumulating wealth among a few blood-relations. A barren woman among the labouring poor, is a wonder. Could women of rank be persuaded to make a trial, they would find more self-enjoyment in temperance and exercise, than in the most refined luxury; and would have no cause to envy others the blessing of a numerous and healthy offspring.

Luxury is not a greater enemy to population by enervating men and women, than despotism is by reducing them to slavery, and destroying industry. Despotism is a greater enemy to the human species than an Egyptian plague; for by rendering men miserable, it weakens both the appetite for procreation and the power. Free states, on the contrary, are always populous: a man who is happy, longs for children to make them also happy; and industry enables him to accomplish his purpose. This observation is verified from the history of Greece, and of the Lesser Asia: the inhabitants anciently were free and numerous: the present inhabitants are reduced by slavery to a small number. A pestilence destroys those only who exist, and the loss is soon repaired; but

but despotism, as above observed, strikes at the very root of population.

An overflowing quantity of money in circulation, is another cause of depopulation. In a nation that grows rich by commerce, the price of labour increases with the quantity of circulating coin, which of course raises the price of manufactures ; and manufacturers who cannot find a vent for their high-rated goods in foreign markets, must give over business and commence beggars, or retire to another country where they may have a prospect of success. But luckily, there is a remedy in that case to prevent depopulation : land is cultivated to greater perfection by the spade than by the plough ; and the more plentiful crops produced by the former, are fully sufficient to defray the additional expence. This is a resource for employing those who cannot make bread as manufacturers ; and deserves well the attention of the legislature. The advantage of the spade is conspicuous with respect to war ; it provides a multitude of robust men for recruiting the army ; the want of whom may be supplied by the plough, till they return in peace to their former occupation.

S K E T C H II.

Progress of Property.

AMong the senses inherent in man, the sense of property is eminent. That sense is the foundation of *yours* and *mine*, a distinction which no human being is ignorant of. By that sense wild animals caught with labour or art, are perceived to belong to the hunter or fisher: they become his *property*. In the shepherd-state, there is the same perception of property with respect to wild animals tamed for use, and with respect to their progeny. It takes place also with respect to a field separated from the common, and cultivated by a man for bread to himself and family (*a*).

The sense of property is slower in its growth toward maturity, than the external senses, which are perfect even in childhood; but it ripens more early than the sense of congruity, of symmetry, of dignity, of grace, and the other refined senses, which scarce make any figure before

(*a*) See Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, p. 77. edit. 2.

the age of manhood. Children discover a sense of property in distinguishing their own chair, and their own spoon. In them however it is faint and obscure, requiring time to ripen. The gradual progress of that sense, from its infancy among savages to its maturity among polished nations, is one of the most instructive articles that belong to the present undertaking. But as that article makes a part of Historical Law-tracts (a), nothing remains here but a few gleanings.

Man is by nature a hoarding animal, having an appetite for storing up things of use ; and the sense of property is bestow'd on men, for securing to them what they thus store up. Hence it appears, that things destined by Providence for our sustenance and accommodation, were not intended to be possessed in common. It is even probable, that in the earliest ages every man separately hunted for himself and his family. But chance prevails in that occupation ; and it may frequently happen, that while some get more than enough, others must go supperless to bed. Sensible of that inconvenience, it crept

(a) Tract 3.

into practice, for hunting and fishing to be carried on in common *. We find accordingly the practice of hunting and fishing in common, even among gross savages. Those of New Holland, above mentioned, live upon small fish dug out of the sand when the sea retires. Sometimes they get plenty, sometimes very little; and all is

* Inequalities of chance, which are great in a few trials, vanish almost entirely when an operation is frequently reiterated during a course of time. Did every man's subsistence depend on the fruits of his own field, many would die of hunger, while others wallowed in plenty. Barter and commerce among the inhabitants of a district, lessen the hazard of famine: the commerce of corn through a large kingdom, such as France or Britain, lessens it still more. Extend that commerce through Europe, through the world, and there will remain scarce a vestige of the inequalities of chance: the crop of corn may fail in one province, or in one kingdom; but that it should fail universally is beyond the varieties of chance. The same observation holds in every other matter of chance: one's gain or loss at game for a night, for a week, may be considerable; but carry on the game for a year, and so little of chance remains, that it is almost the same whether one play for a guinea or for twenty. Hence a skilful insurer never ventures much upon one bottom; but multiplies his bargains as much as possible: the more bargains he is engaged in, the greater is the probability of gain.

broiled

broiled and eat in common. After eating they go to rest: they return to their fishing next ebb of the tide, whether it be day or night, foul or fair; for go they must, or starve. In small tribes, where patriotism is vigorous, or in a country thinly peopled in proportion to its fertility, the living in common is agreeable: but in a large state where selfishness prevails, or in any state where great population requires extraordinary culture, the best method is to permit every man to shift for himself and his family: men wish to labour for themselves; and they labour more ardently for themselves, than for the public. Private property became more and more sacred in the progress of arts and manufactures: to allow an artist of superior skill no profit above others, would be a sad discouragement to industry, and be scarce consistent with justice.

The sense of property is not confined to the human species. The beavers perceive the timber they store up for food, to be their property; and the bees seem to have the same perception with respect to their winter's provision of honey. Sheep know when they are in a trespass, and run to
their

their own pasture on the first glimpse of a man. Monkies do the same when detected in robbing an orchard. Sheep and horned cattle have a sense of property with respect to their resting-place in a fold or inclosure, which every one guards against the incroachment of others. He must be a sceptic indeed who denies that perception to rooks: thieves there are among them as among men; but if a rook purloin a stick from another's nest, a council is held, much chattering ensues, and the *lex talionis* is applied by demolishing the nest of the criminal. To man are furnished rude materials only: to convert these into food and cloathing requires industry; and if he had not a sense that the product of his labour belongs to himself, his industry would be faint. In general, it is pleasant to observe, that the sense of property is always given where it is useful, and never but where it is useful.

An ingenious writer, describing the inhabitants of Guiana, who continue hunters and fishers, makes an eloquent harangue upon the happiness they enjoy, in having few wants and desires, and little notion of private property. "The manners of these

“ Indians exhibit an amiable picture of
“ primeval innocence and happiness. The
“ ease with which their few wants are
“ supplied, renders division of land un-
“ necessary ; nor does it afford any temp-
“ tation to fraud or violence. That prone-
“ ness to vice, which among civilized na-
“ tions is esteemed a propensity of nature,
“ has no existence in a country where e-
“ very man enjoys in perfection his native
“ freedom and independence, without
“ hurting or being hurt by others. A
“ perfect equality of rank, banishing all
“ distinctions but of age and personal me-
“ rit, promotes freedom in conversation,
“ and firmness in action ; and suggests no
“ desires but what may be gratified with
“ innocence. Envy and discontent can-
“ not subsist with perfect equality ; we
“ scarce even hear of a discontented lover,
“ as there is no difference of rank and
“ fortune, the common obstacles that pre-
“ vent fruition. Those who have been
“ unhappily accustomed to the refine-
“ ments of luxury, will scarce be able to
“ conceive, that an Indian, with no co-
“ vering but what modesty requires, with
“ no shelter that deserves the name of a
“ house,

“ house, and with no food but of the
 “ coarsest kind painfully procured by
 “ hunting, can feel any happiness : and
 “ yet to judge from external appear-
 “ ance, the happiness of these people
 “ may be envied by the wealthy of the
 “ most refined nations ; and justly, be-
 “ cause their ignorance of extravagant
 “ desires and endless pursuits that tor-
 “ ment the great world, excludes every
 “ wish beyond the present. In a word, the
 “ inhabitants of Guiana are an example
 “ of what Socrates justly observes, that
 “ those who want the least, approach the
 “ nearest to the gods, who want nothing.”

It is admitted, that the innocence of sa-
 vages, here painted in fine colours, is in
 every respect more amiable, than the lu-
 xury of the opulent. But is our au-
 thor unacquainted with a middle state,
 more suitable than either extreme to
 the dignity of human nature ? The
 appetite for property is not bestow'd
 upon us in vain : it has given birth to
 many arts : it is highly beneficial by
 furnishing opportunity for gratifying the
 most dignified natural affections ; for
 without private property, what place
 would there be for benevolence or cha-
 rity

rity (a)? Without private property, there would be no industry; and without industry, men would remain savages for ever.

The appetite for property, in its nature a great blessing, degenerates, I acknowledge, into a great curse when it transgresses the bounds of moderation. Before money was introduced, the appetite seldom was immoderate, because plain necessities were its only objects. But money is a species of property, of such extensive use as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be industrious; and the beautiful productions of industry and art, rousing the imagination, excite a violent desire for grand houses, fine gardens, and for every thing gay and splendid. Habitual wants multiply: luxury and sensuality gain ground: the appetite for property becomes headstrong, and must be gratified, even at the expence of justice and honour. Examples of this progress are without number; and yet the following history deserves to be kept in memory, as a striking and lamentable illustration. Hispaniola was that part of A-

(a) Historical Law-tracts, tract 3.

merica which Columbus first discovered *anno* 1497. He landed upon the territory of Guacanaric, one of the principal Cacics of the island. That prince, who had nothing barbarous in his manners, received his guests with cordiality; and encouraged his people to vie with one another in obliging them. To gratify the Spanish appetite for gold, they parted freely with their richest ornaments; and in return, were satisfied with glass beads, and such baubles. The Admiral's ship having been dashed against the rocks in a hurricane, Guacanaric was not wanting to his friend on that occasion: he convened a number of men to assist in unloading the ship; and attended himself till the cargo was safely lodged. The Admiral having occasion to return to Spain, left a part of his crew behind; who, forgetting the lessons of moderation he had taught them, turned licentious. The remonstrances of Guacanaric were fruitless: they seized upon the gold and wives of the Indians; and in general treated them with great cruelty. Such enormities did not long pass unresented: the rapacious Spaniards, after much bloodshed, were shut up in
 their

their fort, and reduced to extremity. Unhappily a reinforcement arrived from Spain: a long and bloody war ensued, which did not end till the islanders were entirely subdued. Of this island, about 200 leagues in length and between sixty and eighty in breadth, a Spanish historian bears witness, that the inhabitants amounted to a million when Columbus landed *. The Spaniards, relentless in their cruelty, forc'd these poor people to abandon the culture of their fields, and to retire to the woods and mountains. Hunted like wild beasts even in these retreats, they fled from mountain to mountain, till hunger and fatigue, which destroy'd more than the sword, made them deliver themselves up to their implacable enemies. There remained at that time but 60,000, who were divided among the Spaniards as slaves. Excessive fatigue in the mines, and want even of necessities, reduced them in five years to 14,000. Considering them to be only beasts of burden, they would have yield-

* The numbers possibly are exaggerated. But whether a million, or a half of that number, the moral is the same.

ed more profit had they been treated with less inhumanity. Avarice frequently counteracts its own end : by grasping too much, it loses all. The Emperor Charles resolved to apply some remedy ; but being prevented for some time by various avocations, he got intelligence that the poor Indians were totally extirpated. And they were so in reality, a handful excepted, who lay hid in the mountains, and subsisted as by a miracle in the midst of their enemies. That handful were discovered many years after by some hunters ; who treated them with humanity, regretting perhaps the barbarity of their forefathers. The poor Indians, docile and submissive, embraced the Christian religion, and assumed by degrees the manners and customs of their masters. They still exist, and live by hunting and fishing.

Affection for property ! Janus double-fac'd, productive of many blessings, but degenerating often to be a curse. In thy right hand, Industry, a cornucopia of *plenty*: in thy left, Avarice, a Pandora's box of *deadly poison*.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H III.

Origin and Progress of Commerce.

THE few wants of men in the first stage of society, are supplied by barter in its rudest form. In barter, the rational consideration is, what is wanted by the one, and what can be spared by the other. But savages are not always so clear-sighted: a savage who wants a knife, will give for it any thing that is less useful to him at the time; without considering either the present wants of the person he is dealing with, or his own future wants. An inhabitant of Guiana will for a fish-hook give more at one time, than at another he will give for a hatchet, or for a gun. Kempfer reports, that an inhabitant of Puli Timor, an island adjacent to Malacca, will, for a bit of coarse linen not worth three halfpence, give provisions worth three or four shillings. But people improve by degrees, attending to what is wanted on the one side, and to what can be spared on the other; and in that lesson,

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the American savages in our neighbourhood are not a little expert.

Barter or permutation, in its original form, proved miserably deficient when men and their wants multiplied. That sort of commerce cannot be carried on at a distance; and even among neighbours, it does not always happen, that the one can spare what the other wants. Barter is somewhat enlarged by covenants: a bushel of wheat is delivered to me, upon my promising an equivalent at a future time. But what if I have nothing that my neighbour may have occasion for? or what if my promise be not relied on? Thus barter, even with the aid of covenants, proves still defective. The numberless wants of men cannot readily be supplied, without some commodity in general estimation, that will be gladly accepted in exchange for every other. That commodity ought not to be bulky, nor be expensive in keeping, nor be consumable by time. Gold and silver are metals that possess these properties in an eminent degree. They are at the same time perfectly homogeneous in whatever country produced: two masses of pure gold or of pure silver are

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always

always equal in value, provided they be of the same weight. These metals are also divisible into small parts, convenient to be given for goods of small value *.

Gold and silver, when introduced into commerce, were probably bartered, like other commodities, by bulk merely. Rock-salt in Ethiopia, white as snow and hard as stone, is to this day bartered in that manner with other goods. It is dug out of the mountain Lafta, formed into plates a foot long and three inches broad and thick; and a portion is broken off equivalent in value to the thing wanted. But more ac-

* *Origo emendi vendendique à permutationibus coepit. Olim enim non ita erat nummus: neque aliud merx, aliud pretium vocabatur; sed unusquisque, secundum necessitatem temporum, ac rerum, utilibus inutilia permutabat, quando plerumque evenit, ut, quod alteri superest, alteri desit. Sed quia non semper, nec facile concurrebat, ut, cum tu haberes quod ego desiderarem, invicem haberem, quod tu accipere velles, electa materia est, cujus publica ac perpetua æstimatio difficultatibus permutationum, æqualitate quantitatis subveniret: ea [que] materia forma publica percussa, usum dominiumque non tam ex substantia præbet, quam ex quantitate; nec ultra merx utrumque, sed alterum pretium vocatur. l. 1. Digest, De contrahenda emptione.*

curacy came to be introduced into the commerce of gold and silver : instead of being given loosely by bulk, every portion was weighed in scales : and this method of barter is practised in China, in Ethiopia, and in many other countries. Even weight was at length discovered to be an imperfect standard. Ethiopian salt may be proof against adulteration ; but weight is no security against mixing gold and silver with base metals. To prevent that fraud, pieces of gold and silver are impressed with a public stamp, vouching both the purity and quantity ; and such pieces are termed *coin*. This was a notable improvement in commerce ; and was probably at first thought complete. It was not foreseen, that these metals wear by much handling in the course of circulation ; and consequently, that in time the public stamp is reduced to be a voucher of the purity only, not of the quantity. Hence proceed manifold inconveniencies ; for which no other remedy occurs, but to restore the former method of weighing, trusting to the stamp for the purity only. This proves an embarrassment in commerce, which is remedied by the use of paper-money.

money. And paper-money is attended with another advantage, that of preventing the loss of much gold and silver by wearing. Formerly in China, gold and silver were coined as among us; but the wearing of coin by handling obliged them to recur to scales; and now weight alone is rely'd on for determining the quantity. Copper is the only metal that is circulated among them without weighing; and it is with it that small debts are paid, and small purchases made.

When gold or silver in bullion is exchanged with other commodities, such commerce passes under the common name of *barter* or *permutation*: when current coin is exchanged, such commerce is termed *buying* and *selling*; and the money exchanged is termed *the price of the goods*.

As commerce cannot be carried on to any extent without a standard for comparing goods of different kinds, and as every commercial country is possessed of such a standard, it seems difficult to say by what means the standard has been established. It is plainly not founded on nature; for the different kinds of goods have naturally no common measure by

which they can be valued : two quarters of wheat can be compared with twenty ; but what rule have we for comparing wheat with broad cloth, or either of them with gold, or gold with silver or copper ? Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to account for the comparative value of commodities, by reducing them all to the labour employ'd in raising food ; which labour is said to be a standard for measuring the value of all other labour, and consequently of all things produced by labour. “ If, for example, a bushel of “ wheat and an ounce of silver be produced by the same quantity of labour, “ will they not be equal in value ? ” This standard is imperfect in many respects. I observe, first, that to give it a plausible appearance, there is a necessity to maintain, contrary to fact, that all materials on which labour is employ'd are of equal value. It requires as much labour to make a brass candlestick as one of silver, tho' far from being of the same value. A bushel of wheat may sometimes equal in value an ounce of silver ; but an ounce of gold does not always require more labour than a bushel of wheat ; and yet they differ

differ widely in value. The value of labour, it is true, enters into the value of every thing produced by it; but is far from making the whole value. If an ounce of silver were of no greater value than the labour of procuring it, that ounce would go for payment of the labour, and nothing be left to the proprietor of the mine: such a doctrine will not relish with the King of Spain; and as little with the Kings of Golconda and Portugal, proprietors of diamond-mines. Secondly, The standard under review supposes every sort of labour to be of equal value, which however will not be maintained. An useful art in great request, may not be generally known: the few who are skilful will justly demand more for their labour than the common rate. An expert husbandman bestows no more labour in raising a hundred bushels of wheat, than his ignorant neighbour in raising fifty: if labour be the only standard, the two crops ought to afford the same price. Was not Raphael intitled to a higher price for one of his fine pictures, than a dunce is for a tavern-sign, supposing the labour to have been equal? Lastly, As this standard is applicable to things
only

only that require labour, what rule is to be followed with respect to natural fruits, and other things that require no labour?

Where a pound of one commodity gives the same price with a pound of another, these commodities are said to be of equal value; and therefore, whatever rule can be given for the price of commodities, that rule determines also their comparative values. Montesquieu (*a*) attempts to account for the price as follows. He begins with supposing, that there is but one commodity in commerce, divisible like gold and silver into parts, the parts like those of gold and silver uniform and equally perfect. Upon that supposition, the price, says he, of the whole commodity collected into a mass, will be the whole current gold and silver; and the price of any particular quantity of the former, will be the corresponding quantity of the latter, the tenth or twentieth part of the one corresponding to the tenth or twentieth part of the other. He goes on to apply the same computation to all the variety of goods in commerce; and

(*a*) Liv. 22. ch. 7.

concludes

concludes in general, that as the whole mass of goods in commerce corresponds to the whole mass of gold and silver in commerce as its price, so the price of the tenth or twentieth part of the former will be the tenth or twentieth part of the latter. According to this computation, all different goods must give the same price, or which is the same be of equal value, provided their weight or measure be the same. Our author certainly did not intend such an absurdity; and yet I can draw no other inference from his reasoning. In the very next chapter he admits the negroes on the coast of Afric to be an exception from the general rule, who, says he, value commodities according to the use they have for them. But do not all nations value commodities in the same manner?

Rejecting then the foregoing attempts to account for the comparative value of commodities, I take a hint from what was last said to maintain, that it is the demand chiefly which fixes the value of every commodity. Quantity beyond the demand renders even necessities of no value; of which water is an instance. It may be held

held accordingly as a general rule, That the value of goods in commerce depends on a demand beyond what their quantity can satisfy ; and rises in proportion to the excess of the demand above the quantity. Even water becomes valuable in countries where the demand exceeds the quantity : in arid regions, springs of water are highly valued ; and in old times were frequently the occasion of broils and bloodshed. Comparing next different commodities with respect to value, that commodity of which the excess of the demand above the quantity is the greater, will be of the greater value. Were utility or intrinsic value only to be considered, a pound of iron would be worth ten pounds of gold ; but as the excess of the demand for gold above its quantity is much greater than that of iron, the latter is of less value in the market. A pound of opium or of Jesuits bark is, for its salutary effects, more valuable than gold ; and yet, for the reason given, a pound of gold will purchase many pounds of these drugs. Thus, in general, the excess of the demand above the quantity is the standard that chiefly fixes the mercantile value of

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commodities

commodities *. Interest is the price or premium given for the loan of money; and the rate of interest, like the price of other commodities, is regulated by the demand. Many borrowers and few lenders produce high interest: many lenders and few borrowers produce low interest †.

The causes that make a demand, seem not so easily ascertained. One thing is evident, that the demand for necessaries in any country, must depend on the number of its inhabitants. This rule holds not so strictly in articles of convenience; because some people are more greedy of conveniences than others. As to articles of taste and luxury, the demand appears so

* In a voyage to Arabia Fœlix, ann. 1708, the King of the territory where the crew landed, gave them an ox weighing a thousand or twelve hundred pounds for a fusce, and three score pound-weight of rice for twenty-eight ounces of gun-powder. The goods bartered were estimated according to the wants of each party, or, in other words, according to the demand above the quantity.

† From what is said in the treatise *Des corps politiques* (liv. 6. ch. 8.) it appears doubtful whether high or low interest be the most friendly to commerce.

arbitrary as not to be reducible to any rule. A taste for beauty is general; but so different in different persons, as to make the demand extremely variable: the faint representation of any plant in an agate, is valued by some for its rarity; but the demand is far from being universal. Savages are despised for being fond of glass beads; but were such toys equally rare among us, they would be coveted by many: a copper coin of the Emperor Otho is of no intrinsic value; and yet, for its rarity, would draw a great price.

The value of gold and silver in commerce, like that of other commodities, was at first, we may believe, both arbitrary and fluctuating; and, like other commodities, they found in time their value in the market. With respect to value, however, there is a great difference between money and other commodities. Goods that are expensive in keeping, such as cattle, or that are impaired by time, such as corn, will always be first offered in exchange for what is wanted; and when such goods are offered to sale, the vender must be contented with the current price: in making the bargain the purchaser

purchaser has the advantage ; for he suffers not by reserving his money to a better market. And thus commodities are brought down by money, to the lowest value that can afford any profit. At the same time, gold and silver sooner find their value than other commodities. The value of the latter depends both on the quantity and on the demand ; the value of the former depends on the quantity only, the demand being unbounded : and even with respect to quantity, these precious metals are less variable than other commodities.

Gold and silver, being thus sooner fixed in their value than other commodities, become a standard for valuing every other commodity, and consequently for comparative values. A bushel of wheat, for example, being valued at five shillings, a yard of broad cloth at fifteen, their comparative values are as one to three.

A standard of values is essential to commerce ; and therefore where gold and silver are unknown, other standards are established in practice. The only standard among the savages of North America is the skin of a beaver. Ten of these are

given for a gun, two for a pound of gunpowder, one for four pounds of lead, one for six knives, one for a hatchet, six for a coat of woollen cloth, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of tobacco. Some nations in Africa employ shells, termed *couries*, for a standard.

As my chief view in this sketch is, to examine how far industry and commerce are affected by the quantity of circulating coin, I premise the following plain propositions. Supposing, first, the quantity of money in circulation and the quantity of goods in the market, to continue the same, the price will rise and fall with the demand. For when more goods are demanded than the market affords, those who offer the highest price will be preferred: as, on the other hand, when the goods brought to market exceed the demand, the venders have no resource but to entice purchasers by a low price. The price of fish, flesh, butter, and cheese, is much higher than formerly; for these being now the daily food even of the lowest people, the demand for them is greatly increased.

Supposing a fluctuation in the quantity
of

of goods only, the price falls as the quantity increafes, and riles as the quantity decreafes. The farmer whose quantity of corn is doubled by a favourable feafon, muft fell at half the ufual price; becaufe the purchafer, who fees a fuperfluity, will pay no more for it. The contrary happens upon a fcanty crop: thofe who want corn muft ftarve, or give the market-price, however high. The manufactures of wool, flax, and metals, are much cheaper than formerly; for though the demand has increafed, yet by skill and induftry the quantities produced have increafed in a greater proportion. More pot-herbs are confumed than formerly: and yet by fkilful culture the quantity is fo much greater in proportion, as to have lowered the price to lefs than one half of what it was eighty years ago.

It is eafy to combine the quantity and demand, fuppoſing a fluctuation in both. Where the quantity exceeds the ufual demand, more people will be tempted to purchaſe by the low price; and where the demand riles confiderably above the quantity, the price will riſe in proportion.

In

In mathematical language, these propositions may be thus expressed, that the price is *directly* as the demand, and *inversely* as the quantity.

A variation in the quantity of circulating coin is the most intricate circumstance; because it never happens without making a variation in the demand for goods, and frequently in the quantity. I take the liberty however to suppose, that there is no variation but in the quantity of circulating coin; for tho' that cannot happen in reality, yet the result of the supposition will throw light upon what really happens: the subject is involved, and I wish to make it plain. I put a simple case, that the half of our current coin is at once swept away by some extraordinary accident. This at first will embarrass our internal commerce, as the vender will insist for the usual price, which now cannot be afforded. But the error of such demand will soon be discovered; and the price of commodities, after some fluctuation, will settle at the one half of what it was formerly. At the same time, there is here no downfall in the value of commodities, which cannot happen while
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the quantity and demand continue unvaried. The purchasing for a fixpence what formerly cost a shilling, makes no alteration in the value of the thing purchased; because a fixpence is equal in value to what a shilling was formerly. In a word, when money is scarce, it must bear a high value: it must in particular go far in the purchase of goods; which we express by saying, that goods are cheap. Put next the case, that by some accident our coin is instantly doubled; the result must be, not instantaneous indeed, to double the price of commodities. Upon the former supposition, a fixpence is in effect advanced to be a shilling: upon the present supposition, a shilling has in effect sunk down to a fixpence. And here again it ought to be observed, that tho' the price is augmented, there is no real alteration in the value of commodities. A bullock that, some years ago, could have been purchased for ten pounds, will at present yield fifteen. The vulgar ignorantly think, that the value of horned cattle has arisen in that proportion. The advanced price may, in some degree, be occasioned by a greater consumption; but it is chiefly occasioned

caſioned by a greater quantity of money in circulation.

Combining all the circumſtances, the reſult is, that if the quantity of goods and of money continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the demand. If the demand and quantity of goods continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the quantity of money. And if the demand and quantity of money continue the ſame, the price will fall as the quantity increaſes, and riſe as the quantity diminifhes.

Theſe ſpeculative notions will enable us with accuracy to examine, how induſtry and commerce are affected by variations in the quantity of circulating coin. It is evident, that arts and manufactures cannot be carried on to any extent without coin. Perſons totally employed in any art or manufacture require wages daily or weekly, becauſe they muſt go to market for every neceſſary of life. The clothier, the tailor, the ſhoemaker, the gardener, the farmer, muſt employ ſervants to prepare their goods for the market; to whom, for that reaſon, wages ought to be regularly paid. In a word, commerce among

an endless number of individuals, who depend on each other even for necessaries, would be inextricable without a quantity of circulating coin. Money may be justly conceived to be the oil, that lubricates all the springs and wheels of a great machine, and preserves it in motion *. Supposing us now to be provided with no more of that precious oil than is barely sufficient for the easy motion of our industry and manufactures, a diminution of the necessary quantity must retard them : our industry and manufactures must decay ; and if we do not confine the expence of living to our present circumstances, which seldom happens, the balance of trade with foreign nations will turn against us, and leave us no resource for making the balance equal but to export our gold and sil-

* Money cannot be justly said to be deficient where there is sufficiency to purchase every commodity and to pay for every kind of labour, that is wanted. Any greater quantity is hurtful to commerce, as will be seen afterward. But to be forc'd to contract debt even when one deals prudently and profitably, and consequently to be subjected to legal execution, is a proof, by no means ambiguous, of scarcity of money ; which till of late was remarkably the case in Scotland.

ver. And when we are drained of these metals, farewell to arts and manufactures: we shall be reduced to the condition of savages, which is, that each individual must depend entirely on his own labour for procuring every necessary of life. The consequences of the balance turning for us, are at first directly opposite: but at the long-run come to be the same: they are sweet in the mouth, but bitter in the stomach. An influx of riches by this balance, rouses our activity. Plenty of money elevates our spirits, and inspires an appetite for pleasure: we indulge a taste for show and embellishment; become hospitable, and refine upon the arts of luxury. Plenty of money is a prevailing motive even with the most sedate, to exert themselves in building, in husbandry, in manufactures, and in other solid improvements. Such articles require both hands and materials, the prices of which are raised by the additional demand. The labourer now whose wages are thus raised, is not satisfied with mere necessities; but insists for conveniencies, the price of which also is raised by the new demand. In short, increase of money raises the
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price of every commodity ; partly from the greater quantity of money, and partly from the additional demand for supplying artificial wants. Hitherto a delightful view of prosperous commerce : but behold the remote consequences. High wages at first promote industry, and double the quantity of labour : but the utmost exertion of labour is limited within certain bounds ; and a perpetual influx of gold and silver will not for ever be attended with a proportional quantity of work : The price of labour will rise in proportion to the quantity of money ; but the produce will not rise in the same proportion ; and for that reason our manufactures will be dearer than formerly. Hence a dismal scene. The high price at home of our manufactures will exclude us from foreign markets ; for if the merchant cannot draw there for his goods what he paid at home with some profit, he must abandon foreign commerce altogether. And what is still more dismal, we shall be deprived even of our own markets ; for in spite of the utmost vigilance, foreign commodities, cheaper than our own, will be poured in upon us. The

last scene is to be deprived of our gold and silver, and reduced to the same miserable state as if the balance had been against us from the beginning.

However certain it may be, that an addition to the quantity of money must raise the price of labour and of manufactures, yet there is a fact that seems to contradict the proposition, which is, that in no other country are labour and manufactures so cheap as in the two peninsulas on the right and left of the Ganges, tho' in no other country is there such plenty of money. To account for this singular fact, political writers say, that money is there amassed by the nabobs, and withdrawn from circulation. This is not satisfactory: the chief exportation from these peninsulas is their manufactures, the price of which comes first to the merchant and manufacturer; and how can that happen without raising the price of labour? Rice, it is true, is the food of their labouring poor; and an acre of rice yields more food than five acres of wheat: but the cheapness of necessaries, tho' it hath a considerable influence in keeping down the price of labour, cannot keep it constantly down,

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in opposition to an overflowing current of money. The populousness of these two countries is a circumstance totally overlooked. Every traveller is amazed how such swarms of people can find bread, however fertile the soil may be. Let us examine that circumstance. One thing is evident, that were the people fully employ'd, there would not be a demand for the tenth part of their manufactures. Here then is a country where hand-labour is a drug for want of employment. The people at the same time, sober and inclining to industry, are glad to be employ'd at any rate; and whatever pittance is gained by labour makes always some addition. Hence it is, that in these peninsulas, superfluity of hands overbalancing both the quantity of money and the demand for their manufactures, serves to keep the price extremely low.

What is now said discovers an exception to the proposition above laid down. It holds undoubtedly in Europe, and in every country where there is work for all the people, that an addition to the circulating coin raises the price of labour and of manufactures: but such addition has

no sensible effect in a country where there is a superfluity of hands, who are always disposed to work when they find employment.

From these premises it is evident, that unless there be a superfluity of hands, manufactures can never flourish in a country abounding with mines of gold and silver. This in effect is the case of Spain : a constant influx of these metals, raising the price of labour and manufactures, has deprived the Spaniards of foreign markets, and also of their own : they are reduced to purchase from strangers even the necessaries of life. What a dismal condition will they be reduced to, when their mines come to be exhausted ! The Gold coast in Guinea has its name from the plenty of gold that is found there. As it is washed from the hills with the soil in small quantities, every one is on the watch for it ; and the people like gamesters despise every other occupation. They are accordingly lazy and poor. The kingdom of Fidah in the neighbourhood, where there is no gold, is populous : the people are industrious, deal in many branches of manufacture, and are all in easy circumstances.

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To illustrate this observation, which is of great importance, I enter more minutely into the condition of Spain. The rough materials of silk, wool, and iron, are produced there more perfect than in any other country; and yet flourishing manufactures of these, would be ruinous to it in its present state. Let us only suppose, that Spain itself could furnish all the commodities that are demanded in its American territories; what would be the consequence? The gold and silver produced by that trade would circulate in Spain: money would become a drug: labour and manufactures would rise to a high price; and every necessary of life, not excepting manufactures of silk, wool, and iron, would be smuggled into Spain, the high price there being sufficient to overbalance every risk: Spain would be left without industry, and without people. Spain was actually in the flourishing state here supposed when America was discovered: the American gold and silver mines enflamed the disease; and consequently was the greatest misfortune that ever befel that once potent kingdom. The exportation of our silver coin to the East Indies, so
loudly

loudly exclaim'd against by shallow politicians, is to us, on the contrary, a most substantial blessing: it keeps up the value of silver, and consequently lessens the value of labour and of goods, which enables us to maintain our place in foreign markets. Were there no drain for our silver, its quantity in our continent would sink its value so much as to render the American mines unprofitable. Notwithstanding the great flow of money to the East Indies, many mines in the West Indies are given up, because they afford not the expence of working; and were the value of silver in Europe brought much lower, the whole silver mines in the West Indies would be abandoned. Thus our East-India commerce, which is thought ruinous by many because it is a drain to much of our silver, is for that very reason profitable to all. The Spaniards profit by importing it into Europe; and other nations profit, by receiving it for their manufactures.

How ignorantly do people struggle against the necessary chain of causes and effects! If money do not overflow, a commerce in which the imports exceed

in value the exports, will soon drain a nation of money, and put an end to its industry. Commercial nations for that reason struggle hard for the balance of trade; and they fondly imagine, that it cannot be too advantageous. If greatly advantageous to them, it must in the same proportion be disadvantageous to those they deal with; which proves equally ruinous to both. They foresee indeed, but without concern, immediate ruin to those they deal with; but they have no inclination to foresee, that ultimately it must prove equally ruinous to themselves. It appears the intention of Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce as by sunshine; and it is so ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers as well as to the losers: the latter are immediate sufferers; but no less so ultimately are the former. This is one remarkable instance, among many, of providential wisdom in conducting human affairs, independent of the will of man, and frequently against his will. An ambitious nation, placed advantageously for trade, would willingly engross all to themselves, and reduce their neighbours to be hewers

of wood and drawers of water. But an invincible bar is opposed to such ambition, making an overgrown commerce the means of its own destruction. The commercial balance held by the hand of Providence, is never permitted to preponderate much to one side; and every nation partakes, or may partake, of all the comforts of life. Engrossing is bad policy: men are prompted, both by interest and duty, to second the plan of Providence; and to preserve, as near as possible, equality in the balance of trade.

Upon these principles, a wise people, having acquired a stock of money sufficient for an extensive commerce, will tremble at a balance too advantageous: they will rest satisfied with an equal balance, which is the golden mean. A hurtful balance may be guarded against by industry and frugality: but by what means is a balance too favourable to be guarded against? With respect to that question, it is not the quantity of gold and silver in a country that raises the price of labour and manufactures, but the quantity in circulation; and may not that quantity be regulated by the state, permitting coinage as far only
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as is beneficial to its manufactures? Let the registers of foreign mints be carefully watched, in order that our current coin may not exceed that of our industrious neighbours. There will always be a demand for the surplus of our bullion, either to be exported as a commodity, or to be purchased at home for plate: which cannot be too much encouraged, being ready at every crisis to be coined for public service. The senate of Genoa has wisely burdened porcelane with a heavy tax, being a foreign luxury; but it has no less wisely left gold and silver plate free; which we most unwisely have loaded with a duty *.

The accumulating money in the public treasury, anciently the practice of every prudent monarch, prevents superfluity. Lies there any good objection against that practice, in a trading nation where gold and silver flow in with impetuosity? A great sum lock'd by up a frugal king, Henry VII. of England for example, lessens the quantity of money in circulation: profusion in a successor, which was the

* That duty is wisely taken away by a late act.

case with Henry VIII. is a spur to industry, similar to the influx of gold and silver from the new world. The canton of Bern, by locking up money in its treasury, possesses the miraculous art of reconciling immense wealth with frugality and cheap labour. A climate not kindly, and a soil not naturally fertile, enured the inhabitants to temperance and to virtue. Patriotism is their ruling passion; they consider themselves as children of the republic; are fond of serving their mother; and hold themselves sufficiently recompensed by the privilege of serving her. The public revenue greatly exceeds the expence of government: they carefully lock up the surplus for purchasing land when a proper opportunity offers; which is a shining proof of their disinterestedness as well as of their wisdom. By that politic measure, much more than by war, the canton of Bern, from a very slender origin, is now far superior to any of the other cantons in extent of territory. But in what other part of the globe are there to be found ministers of state, moderate and disinterested like the citizens of Bern! In the hands of a British ministry, the
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greatest treasure would vanish in the twinkling of an eye ; and do more mischief by augmenting money in circulation above what is salutary, than formerly it did good by confining it within moderate bounds. But against such a measure there lies an objection still more weighty than its being an ineffectual remedy : in the hands of an ambitious prince it would prove dangerous to liberty.

If the foregoing measures be not relished, I can discover no other means for preserving our station in foreign markets, but a bounty on exportation. The sum would be great : but the preserving our industry and manufactures and the preventing an influx of foreign manufactures, cannot be purchased too dear. At the same time, a bounty on exportation would not be an unsupportable load : on the contrary, superfluity of wealth, procured by a balance constantly favourable, would make the load abundantly easy. A proper bounty would balance the growing price of labour and materials at home, and keep open the foreign market. By neglecting that salutary measure, the Dutch have lost all their manufactures, a neglect that has
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greatly benefited both England and France. The Dutch indeed act prudently in withholding that benefit as much as possible from their powerful neighbours : to prevent purchasing from them, they consume the manufactures of India.

The manufactures of Spain, once extensive, have been extirpated by their gold and silver mines. Authors ascribe to the same cause the decline of their agriculture ; but erroneously : on the contrary, superfluity of gold and silver is favourable to agriculture, by raising the price of its productions. It raises also, it is true, the price of labour ; but that additional expence is far from balancing the profit made by high prices of whatever the ground produces. Too much wealth indeed is apt to make the tenant press into a higher rank : but that is easily prevented by a proper heightening of the rent, so as always to confine the tenant within his own sphere.

As gold and silver are essential to commerce, foreign and domestic, several commercial nations have endeavoured most absurdly to bar the exportation by penal laws ; forgetting that gold and silver will
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never be exported while the balance of trade is on their side, and that they must necessarily be exported when the balance is against them. Neither do they consider, that if a people continue industrious, they cannot be long afflicted with an unfavourable balance; for the value of money, rising in proportion to its scarcity, will lower the price of their manufactures, and promote exportation: the balance will turn in their favour; and money will flow in, till by plenty its value be reduced to a par with that of neighbouring nations.

It is an important question, Whether a bank upon the whole be friendly to commerce. It is undoubtedly a spur to industry, like a new influx of money: but then, like such influx, it raises the price of labour and of manufactures. Weighing these two facts in a just balance, the result seems to be, that in a country where money is scarce, a bank properly constituted is a great blessing, as it in effect increases the quantity of money, and promotes industry and manufactures; but that in a country that possesses money sufficient for extensive commerce, the only bank that will not injure foreign commerce, is what
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is erected for supplying the merchant with ready money by discounting bills. At the same time, much caution and circumspection is necessary with respect to banks of both kinds. A bank erected for discounting bills, ought to be confined to bills really granted in the course of commerce; rejecting fictitious bills drawn merely for procuring a loan of money. And with respect to a bank purposely erected for lending money, there is great danger of extending credit too far; not only with respect to the bank itself, but with respect to the nation in general, by raising the price of labour and of manufactures, which is the never-failing result of too great plenty of money, whether coin or paper.

The different effects of plenty and scarcity of money, have not escaped that penetrating genius, the sovereign of Prussia. Money is not so plentiful in his dominions as to make it necessary to withdraw a quantity by heaping up treasure. He indeed always retains in his treasury six or seven millions Sterling for answering unforeseen demands: but being sensible that the withdrawing from circulation any larger sum would be pre-

judicial to commerce, every farthing saved from the necessary expence of government, is laid out upon buildings, upon operas, upon any thing rather than cramp circulation. In that kingdom, a bank established for lending money would promote industry and manufactures.

S K E T C H IV.

Origin and Progress of Arts.

S E C T I O N I.

Useful Arts.

SOME useful arts must be nearly coeval with the human race ; for food, cloathing, and habitation, even in their original simplicity, require some art. Many other arts are of such antiquity as to place the inventors beyond the reach of tradition. Several have gradually crept into existence, without an inventor. The busy mind however, accustomed to a beginning in things, cannot rest till it find or imagine a beginning to every art. Bacchus is said to have invented wine ; and Staphylus, the mixing water with wine. The bow and arrow are ascribed by tradition to Scythos, son of Jupiter, tho' a weapon all the world over. Spinning is so useful, that it must be honoured with
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some illustrious inventor: it was ascribed by the Egyptians to their goddess Isis; by the Greeks to Minerva; by the Peruvians to Mama Ella, wife to their first sovereign Mango Capac; and by the Chinese to the wife of their Emperor Yao. Mark here by the way a connection of ideas: spinning is a female occupation, and it must have had a female inventor*.

In the hunter-state, men are wholly employ'd upon the procuring food, cloathing, habitation, and other necessaries; and have no time nor zeal for studying conveniencies. The ease of the shepherd-state affords both time and inclination for useful arts; which are greatly promoted by numbers who are relieved by agriculture from bodily labour: the soil, by gradual improvements in husbandry, affords plenty with less labour than at first; and

* The Illinois are industrious above all their American neighbours. Their women are neat-handed: they spin the wool of their horned cattle, which is as fine as that of English sheep. The stuffs made of it are dyed black, yellow, or red, and cut into garments sewed with roe-buck sinews. After drying these sinews in the sun, and beating them, they draw out threads as white and fine as any that are made of flax, but much tougher.

the surplus hands are employ'd, first, in useful arts, and, next, in those of amusement. Arts accordingly make the quickest progress in a fertile soil, which produces plenty with little labour. Arts flourished early in Egypt and Chaldea, countries extremely fertile.

When men, who originally lived in caves like some wild animals, began to think of a more commodious habitation, their first houses were extremely simple; witness those of the Canadian savages, than which none can be more simple, even at present. Their houses, says Charlevoix, are built with less art, neatness, and solidity, than those of the beavers; having neither chimneys nor windows: a hole only is left in the roof, for admitting light and emitting smoke. That hole must be stopped when it rains or snows; and of course the fire is put out, that the inhabitants may not be stifled with smoke. To have passed so many ages in that manner without thinking of any improvement, shows how greatly men are influenced by custom. The blacks of Jamaica are still more rude in their buildings: their huts are erected without even a hole
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in the roof; and accordingly at home they breathe nothing but smoke.

Revenge produced early hostile weapons. The club and the dart are obvious inventions; not so the bow and arrow; and for that reason it is not easy to say how that weapon came to be universal. As iron differs from other metals, being seldom found pure, it was a late discovery: at the siege of Troy, spears, darts, and arrows, were headed with brass. Menestheus, who succeeded Theseus in the kingdom of Athens, and led fifty ships to the siege of Troy, was reputed the first who marshalled an army in battle-array. Instruments of defence are made necessary by those of offence. Trunks of trees, interlaced with branches, and supported with earth, made the first fortifications; to which succeeded a wall finished with a parapet for shooting arrows at besiegers. As a parapet covers but half of the body, holes were left in the wall from space to space, no larger than to give passage to an arrow. Besiegers had no remedy but to beat down the wall: a battering ram was first used by Pericles the Athenian, and perfected by the Carthaginians at the siege of Gades.

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To oppose that formidable machine, the wall was built with advanced parapets for throwing stones and fire upon the enemy, which kept him at a distance. A wooden booth upon wheels, and pushed close to the wall, secured the men who wrought the battering ram. This invention was rendered ineffectual, by surrounding the wall with a deep and broad ditch. Besiegers were reduced to the necessity of inventing engines for throwing stones and javelins upon those who occupied the advanced parapets, in order to give opportunity for filling up the ditch; and ancient histories expatiate upon the powerful operation of the catapulta and balista. These engines suggested a new invention for defence: instead of a circular wall, it was built with salient angles, like the teeth of a saw, in order that one part might flank another. That form of a wall was afterward improved, by raising round towers upon the salient angles; and the towers were improved by making them square. The ancients had no occasion for any form more complete, being sufficient for defending against all the missile weapons at that time known. The invention
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of cannon required a variation in military architecture. The first cannons were made of iron bars, forming a concave cylinder, united by rings of copper. The first cannon-balls were of stone, which required a very large aperture. A cannon was reduced to a smaller size, by using iron for balls instead of stone; and that destructive engine was perfected by making it of cast metal. To resist its force, bastions were invented, horn-works, crown-works, half-moons, &c. &c.; and military architecture became a system, governed by principles and general rules. But all in vain: it has indeed produced fortifications that have made sieges horribly bloody; but artillery at the same time has been carried to such perfection, and the art of attack so improved, that no fortification, it is thought, can be rendered impregnable. The only impregnable defence, is good neighbourhood among weak princes, ready to unite whenever one of them is attacked by superior force. And nothing tends more effectually to promote such union, than constant experience that fortifications cannot be relied on.

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With respect to naval architecture, the first vessels were beams joined together, and covered with planks, pushed along with poles in shallow water, and in deep water drawn by animals on the shore. To these succeeded trunks of trees cut hollow, termed by the Greeks *monoxyles*. The next were planks joined together in form of a monoxyle. The thought of imitating a fish advanced naval architecture. A prow was constructed in imitation of the head, a stern with a moveable helm in imitation of the tail, and oars in imitation of the fins. Sails were at last added ; which invention was so early that the contriver is unknown. Before the year 1545, ships of war in England had no port-holes for guns, as at present : they had only a few cannon placed on the upper deck.

When Homer composed his poems, at least during the Trojan war, the Greeks had not acquired the art of gelding cattle : they eat the flesh of bulls and of rams. Kings and princes killed and cooked their victuals : spoons, forks, table-cloths, napkins, were unknown. They fed sitting, the custom of reclining upon beds being
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afterward copied from Asia ; and, like other savages, they were great eaters. At the time mentioned, they had not chimneys, nor candles, nor lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never : a vase was placed upon a tripod, in which was burnt dry wood for giving light. Locks and keys were not common at that time. Bundles were secured with ropes intricately combined (a) ; and hence the famous Gordian knot. Shoes and stockings were not early known among them, nor buttons, nor saddles, nor stirrups. Plutarch reports, that Gracchus caused stones to be erected along the high-ways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horse ; for at that time stirrups were unknown in Rome, tho' an obvious invention. Linen for shirts was not used in Rome for many years after the government became despotic. Even so late as the eighth century, it was not common in Europe. We are informed by Herodotus, that the Lydians were reputed to be the first who coined gold and silver money. This was probably after the Trojan war ; for during that

(a) *Odyssey*, b. 8. l. 483. Pope's translation.

war the Greeks and Trojans trafficked by barter, as Homer relates : Priam weighs out the ten talents of gold which were the ransom of his son's body.

Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, about six hundred years before Christ, invented the following method for measuring the height of an Egyptian pyramid. He watched the progress of the sun, till his body and its shadow were of the same length ; and at that instant measured the shadow of the pyramid, which consequently gave its height. Amasis King of Egypt, present at the operation, thought it a wonderful effort of genius ; and the Greeks admired it highly. Geometry must have been in its cradle at that time. Anaximander, some ages before Christ, made the first map of the earth, as far as then known. About the end of the thirteenth century, spectacles for assisting the sight were invented by Alexander Spina, a monk of Pisa. So useful an invention cannot be too much extolled. At a period of life when the judgement is in maturity and reading is of great benefit, the eyes begin to grow dim. One cannot help pitying the condition of bookish men
before

before that invention; many of whom must have had their sight greatly impaired, while their appetite for reading was in vigour.

The origin and progress of writing make a capital article in the history of arts. To write, or, in other words, to exhibit thoughts to the eye, was early attempted in Egypt by hieroglyphics. But these were not confined to Egypt: figures composed of painted feathers were used in Mexico to express ideas; and by such figures Montezuma received intelligence of the Spanish invasion: in Peru, the only arithmetical figures known were knots of various colours, which served to cast up accounts. The second step naturally in the progress of the art of writing, is, to represent each word by a mark, termed a *letter*, which is the Chinese way of writing: they have about 11,000 of these marks or letters in common use; and in matters of science, they employ to the number of 60,000. Our way is far more easy and commodious: instead of marks or letters for words, which are infinite, we represent by marks or letters, the articulate sounds that compose words: these

sounds exceed not thirty in number ; and consequently the same number of marks or letters are sufficient for writing. It was a lucky movement to pass at one step from hieroglyphics, the most imperfect mode of writing, to letters representing sounds, the most perfect ; for there is no appearance that the Chinese mode was ever practis'd in this part of the world. With us, the learning to read is so easy as to be acquired in childhood ; and we are ready for the sciences as soon as the mind is ripe for them : the Chinese mode, on the contrary, is an unfurmoutable obstruction to knowledge ; because, it being the work of a lifetime to read with ease, no time remains for studying the sciences. Our case was in some measure the same at the restoration of learning : it required an age to be familiarized with Greek and Latin ; and too little time remained for gathering knowledge from books composed in these languages. The Chinese stand upon a more equal footing with respect to arts ; for these may be acquired by imitation or oral instruction, without books.

The art of writing with letters representing sounds, is of all inventions the
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most important, and the least obvious. The way of writing in China makes so naturally the second step in the progress of the art, that our good fortune in stumbling upon a way so much more perfect cannot be sufficiently admired, when to it we are indebted for our superiority in literature above the Chinese. Their way of writing will for ever continue an unmountable obstruction to science; for it is so rivetted by inveterate practice, that the difficulty would not be greater to make them change their language than their letters. Hieroglyphics were a sort of writing, so miserably imperfect, as to make every improvement welcome; but as the Chinese make a tolerable shift with their own letters, they never dream of any improvement. Hence it may be pronounced with great certainty, that in China, the sciences, tho' still in infancy, will never arrive at maturity.

There is no appearance that writing was known in Greece so early as the time of Homer; for in none of his works is there any mention of it. This, it is true, is but negative evidence; but negative evidence must always command our assent, where

where no positive evidence stands in opposition. If it was known, it must have been newly introduced; and used probably to record laws, religious precepts, or other short compositions. Ciphers, invented in Hindostan, were brought into France from Arabia about the end of the tenth century. The art of printing made a great revolution in learning. In the days of William the Conqueror books were extremely scarce. Grace Countess of Anjou paid for a collection of homilies two hundred sheep, a quarter of wheat, another of rye, and a third of millet, beside a number of martre skins.

Husbandry made a progress from Egypt to Greece, and from Afric to Italy. Mago, a Carthaginian General, composed twenty-eight books upon husbandry, which were translated into Latin by order of the Roman senate. From these fine and fertile countries, it made its way to colder and less kindly climates. According to that progress, agriculture must have been practised more early in France than in Britain; and yet the English at present make a greater figure in that art than the French, inferiority in soil and climate notwithstanding.

standing. Before husbandry became an art in the northern parts of Europe, the French noblesse had deserted the country, fond of society in a town-life. Landed gentlemen in England, more rough and delighting more in hunting and other country-amusements, found leisure to practise agriculture. Skill in that art proceeded from them to their tenants, who now prosecute husbandry with success, tho' their landlords have generally betaken themselves to a town-life.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, agriculture was unknown in the inner parts: the inhabitants fed upon milk and flesh, and were cloathed with skins. Hollinshed, who wrote in the period of Queen Elizabeth, describes the rudeness of the preceding generation in the arts of life: "There
" were very few chimneys even in capital towns: the fire was laid to the
" wall, and the smoke issued out at the
" roof, or door, or window. The houses were wattled and plaistered over
" with clay; and all the furniture and utensils were of wood. The people slept
" on straw-pallets, with a log of wood
" for a pillow." Henry II. of France, at
the

the marriage of the Ducheſs of Savoy, wore the firſt ſilk ſtockings that were made in France. Queen Elifabeth, the third year of her reign, received in a preſent a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings; and Dr Howel reports, that ſhe never wore cloth hoſe any more. Before the conqueſt, there was a timber bridge upon the Thames between London and Southwark, which was repaired by King William Rufus, and was burnt by accident in the reign of Henry II. ann. 1176. At that time a ſtone bridge in place of it was projected, but not finiſhed till the year 1212. The bridge Notre-Dame over the Seine in Paris, was firſt of wood. It fell down anno 1499; and as there was not in France a man who would undertake to rebuild it of ſtone, an Italian cordelier was employ'd, whoſe name was *Joconde*, the ſame upon whom Sanazarius made the following pun:

*Jocondus geminum impoſuit tibi, Sequana, pontem;
Hunc tu jure potes dicere pontificem.*

Two Genoefe, Stephen Turquet and Bartholomew Narres, laid in the 1536 the foundation of the ſilk-manufacture at Lyons. The art of making glaſs was imported

ed from France into England *ann.* 674, for the use of monasteries. Glass windows in private houses were rare even in the twelfth century, and held to be great luxury. King Edward III. invited three clockmakers of Delft in Holland to settle in England. In the former part of the reign of Henry VIII. there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted, that even Queen Catharine herself could not command a salad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. About the same time, the artichoke, the apricot, the damask rose, made their first appearance in England. Turkeys, carps, and hops, were first known there in the year 1524. The currant-shrub was brought from the island of Zant *ann.* 1533; and in the year 1540, cherry-trees from Flanders were first planted in Kent. It was in the year 1563 that knives were first made in England. Pocket-watches were brought there from Germany *ann.* 1577. About the year 1580, coaches were introduced; before which time Queen Elisabeth on public occasions rode behind her chamberlain. A saw-mill

was erected near London *ann.* 1633, but afterward demolished, that it might not deprive the labouring poor of employment. How crude was the science of politics even in that late age? Coffeehouses were opened in London no sooner than the year 1652.

People who are ignorant of weights and measures fall upon odd shifts to supply the defect. Howel Dha Prince of Wales, who died in the year 948, was their capital lawgiver. One of his laws is, "If any
 " one kill or steal the cat that guards the
 " Prince's granary, he forfeits a milch
 " ewe with her lamb; or as much wheat
 " as will cover the cat when suspended by
 " the tail, the head touching the ground." By the same lawgiver a fine of twelve cows is enacted for a rape committed upon a maid, eighteen for a rape upon a matron. If the fact be proved after being denied, the criminal for his falsity pays as many shillings as will cover the woman's posteriors. The measure of the mid stream for salmon among our forefathers is not less risible. It is, that the mid stream shall be so wide as that a swine may turn itself in
 it,

it, without touching either side with its snout or tail.

The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made great advances in arts. Their towns for the most part are fortified, and connected by great roads, kept in good repair. Deep canals from river to river are commonly filled with canoes, for pleasure some, and many for business. The vallies are pleasant, producing wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, lemons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and dates. The marshy grounds near the sea are drained; and salt is made by evaporating the stagnating water. Salt is carried to the inland countries by the great canal of Ba, where numberless canoes are daily seen going with salt, and returning with gold dust or other commodities.

In all countries where the people are barbarous and illiterate, the progress of arts is wofully slow. It is vouched by an old French poem, that the virtues of the loadstone were known in France before the 1180. The mariner's compass was exhibited at Venice *ann.* 1260 by Paulus Venetus, as his own invention. John Goya of Amalphi was the first who, many years

afterward, used it in navigation ; and also passed for being the inventor. Tho' it was used in China for navigation long before it was known in Europe, yet to this day it is not so perfect as in Europe. Instead of suspending it in order to make it act freely, it is placed upon a bed of sand, by which every motion of the ship disturbs its operation. Hand-mills, termed *querns*, were early used for grinding corn ; and when corn came to be raised in greater quantity, horse-mills succeeded. Water-mills for grinding corn are described by Vitruvius (a). Windmills were known in Greece and in Arabia as early as the seventh century ; and yet no mention is made of them in Italy till the fourteenth century. That they were not known in England in the reign of Henry VIII. appears from a household book of an Earl of Northumberland, contemporary with that King, stating an allowance for three mill-horses, “ two to “ draw in the mill, and one to carry stuff “ to the mill and fro.” Water-mills for corn must in England have been of a later

(a) L. 10. cap. 10.

date. The ancients had mirror-glasses, and employed glass to imitate crystal vases and goblets: yet they never thought of using it in windows. In the thirteenth century, the Venetians were the only people who had the art of making crystal glass for mirrors. A clock that strikes the hours was unknown in Europe till the end of the twelfth century. And hence the custom of employing men to proclaim the hours during night; which to this day continues in Germany, Flanders, and England. Galileo was the first who conceived an idea that a pendulum might be useful for measuring time; and Hughens was the first who put the idea in execution, by making a pendulum clock. Hook, in the year 1660, invented a spiral spring for a watch, tho' a watch was far from being a new invention. Paper was made no earlier than the fourteenth century; and the invention of printing was a century later. Silk manufactures were long established in Greece before silk-worms were introduced there. The manufacturers were provided with raw silk from Persia: but that commerce being frequently interrupted by war, two monks, in the
reign

reign of Justinian, brought eggs of the silk-worm from Hindostan, and taught their countrymen the method of managing them. The art of reading made a very slow progress. To encourage that art in England, the capital punishment for murder was remitted if the criminal could but read, which in law-language is termed *benefit of clergy*. One would imagine that the art must have made a very rapid progress when so greatly favoured: but there is a signal proof of the contrary; for so small an edition of the Bible as six hundred copies, translated into English in the reign of Henry VIII. was not wholly sold off in three years. The people of England must have been profoundly ignorant in Queen Elisabeth's time, when a forged clause added to the twentieth article of the English creed passed unnoticed till about forty years ago *. The Emperor Rodolphus

* In the act 13th Elisabeth, anno 1571, confirming the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, these articles are not engrossed, but referred to as comprised in a printed book, intitled, *Articles agreed to by the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London 1562*. The forged clause is, "The
" church

phus *ann.* 1281 appointed all public acts to be written in the German language, instead of Latin as formerly. This was imitated in France, but not till the year 1539. In Scotland to this day charters, feifins, precepts of *Clare constat*, and some other land-titles, continue to be in Latin, or rather in a sort of jargon. Ignorance is the mother of devotion, to the church and to lawyers.

The discoveries of the Portuguese in the west coast of Africa, is a remarkable instance of the slow progress of arts. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, they were totally ignorant of that coast beyond Cape Non, 28 deg. north latitude. In the 1410 the celebrated Prince Henry of Por-

“ church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, “ and authority in controversies of faith.” That clause is not in the articles referred to; nor the slightest hint of any authority with respect to matters of faith. In the same year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and English, precisely as in the year 1562. But soon after came out spurious editions, in which the said clause was foisted into the twentieth article, and continues so to this day. A forgery so impudent would not pass at present; and its success shows great ignorance in the people of England at that period.

tugal

tugal fitted out a fleet for discoveries, which proceeded along the coast to Cape Bojadore in 26 deg.; but had not courage to double it. In 1418 Trifan Vaz discovered the island Porto Santo; and the year after the island Madeira was discovered. In 1439 a Portuguese captain doubled Cape Bojadore; and the next year the Portuguese reached Cape Blanco, lat. 20 deg. In 1446 Nuna Trifan doubled Cape Verd, lat. 14° 40'. In 1448 Don Gonzallo Vallo took possession of the Azores. In the 1449 the islands of Cape Verd were discovered for Don Henry. In the 1471 Pedro d'Efcovar discovered the island St Thomas and Prince's island. In 1484 Diego Cam discovered the kingdom of Congo. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, employ'd by John II. of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he called *Cabo Tormentoso*, from the tempestuous weather he found in the passage.

More arts have been invented by accident than by investigation. The art of porcelain is more intricate than that of glass. The Chinese however have possessed the former many ages, without knowing

any thing of the latter till they were taught by Europeans.

The exertion of national spirit upon any particular art, promotes activity to prosecute other arts. The Romans, by constant study, came to excel in the art of war, which led them to improve upon other arts. Having in the progress of society acquired some degree of taste and polish, a talent for writing broke forth. Nevius composed in verse seven books of the Punic war; beside comedies, replete with bitter raillery against the nobility (*a*). Ennius wrote annals, and an epic poem (*b*). Lucius Andronicus was the father of dramatic poetry in Rome (*c*). Pacuvius wrote tragedies (*d*). Plautus and Terence wrote comedies. Lucilius composed satires, which Cicero esteems to be slight, and void of erudition (*e*). Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Piso Frugi, Valerius Antias, and Cato, were rather annalists than historians, confining them-

(*a*) Titus Livius, lib. 7. c. 2.

(*b*) Quintilian, lib. 10. c. 17.

(*c*) Cicero De oratore, lib. 2. N° 72.

(*d*) De oratore, lib. 2. N° 193.

(*e*) De finibus, lib. 1. N° 7.

selves to naked facts, ranged in order of time. The genius of the Romans for the fine arts was much inflamed by Greek learning, when free intercourse between the two nations was opened. Many of those who made the greatest figure in the Roman state, commenced authors, Cæsar, Cicero, &c. Sylla composed memoirs of his own transactions, a work much esteemed even in the days of Plutarch.

The progress of art seldom fails to be rapid, when a people happen to be roused out of a torpid state by some fortunate change of circumstances: prosperity contrasted with former abasement, gives to the mind a spring, which is vigorously exerted in every new pursuit. The Athenians made no figure under the tyranny of Pisistratus; but upon regaining freedom and independence, they became heroes. Miletus, a Greek city of Ionia, being destroy'd by the King of Persia, and the inhabitants made slaves; the Athenians, deeply affected with the misery of their brethren, boldly attacked that king in his own dominions, and burnt the city of Sardis. In less than ten years after, they gained a signal victory over him at Marathon;

Marathon; and under Themistocles, made head against a prodigious army with which Xerxes threatened utter ruin to Greece. Such prosperity produced its usual effect: arts flourished with arms, and Athens became the chief theatre for sciences as well as fine arts. The reign of Augustus Cæsar, which put an end to the rancour of civil war and restored peace to Rome with the comforts of society, proved an auspicious æra for literature; and produced a cloud of Latin historians, poets, and philosophers, to whom the moderns are indebted for their taste and talents. One who makes a figure rouses emulation in all: one catches fire from another, and the national spirit flourishes: classical works are composed, and useful discoveries made in every art and science. This fairly accounts for the following observation of Velleius Paterculus (*a*), that eminent men generally appear in the same period of time. “One age,” says he, “produced Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, who advanced tragedy to a great height. In another age the old comedy

(*a*) *Historia Romana*, lib. 1. in fine.

“ flourished under Eupolis, Cratinus, and
 “ Aristophanes ; and the new was invent-
 “ ed by Menander, and his contemporaries
 “ Diphilus and Philemon, whose compo-
 “ sitions are so perfect that they have left
 “ to posterity no hope of rivalry. The
 “ philosophic sages of the Socratic school,
 “ appeared all about the time of Plato and
 “ Aristotle. And as to rhetoric, few ex-
 “ celled in that art before Isocrates, and
 “ as few after the second descent of his
 “ scholars.” The historian applies the
 same observation to the Romans, and ex-
 tends it even to grammarians, painters,
 statuaries, and sculptors. With regard to
 Rome, it is true that the Roman govern-
 ment under Augustus was in effect despo-
 tic : but despotism in that single instance
 made no obstruction to literature, it ha-
 ving been the politic of that reign to hide
 power as much as possible. A similar re-
 volution happened in Tuscany about three
 centuries ago. That country was divided
 into many small republics, which by mu-
 tual hatred, usual between nations in close
 neighbourhood, became ferocious and
 bloody. These republics being united
 under the Great Duke of Tuscany, enjoy’d
 the

the sweets of peace in a mild government. That comfortable revolution, which made the deeper impression by a retrospect to recent calamities, roused the national spirit, and produced ardent application to arts and literature. The restoration of the royal family in England, which put an end to a cruel and envenomed civil war, promoted improvements of every kind: arts and industry made a rapid progress among the people, tho' left to themselves by a weak and fluctuating administration. Had the nation, upon that favourable turn of fortune, been blessed with a succession of able and virtuous princes, to what a height might not arts and sciences have been carried! In Scotland, a favourable period for improvements was the reign of the first Robert, after shaking off the English yoke: but the domineering spirit of the feudal system rendered abortive every attempt. The restoration of the royal family, mentioned above, animated the legislature of Scotland to promote manufactures of various kinds: but in vain; for the union of the two crowns had introduced despotism into Scotland, which sunk the genius of the people, and rendered them

them heartless and indolent. Liberty indeed and many other advantages, were procured to them by the union of the two kingdoms ; but these salutary effects were long suspended by mutual enmity, such as commonly subsists between neighbouring nations. Enmity wore away gradually, and the eyes of the Scots were opened to the advantages of their present condition : the national spirit was roused to emulate and to excel : talents were exerted, hitherto latent ; and Scotland at present makes a figure in arts and sciences, above what it ever made while an independent kingdom *.

Another cause of activity and animation, is the being engaged in some im-

* In Scotland, an innocent bankrupt imprisoned for debt, obtains liberty by a process termed *Cessio bonorum*. From the year 1694 to the 1744 there were but twenty-four processes of that kind ; which shows how languidly trade was carried on while the people remained ignorant of their advantages by the union. From that time to the year 1771 there have been thrice that number every year, taking one year with another ; an evident proof of the late rapid progress of commerce in Scotland. Every one is roused to venture his small stock, tho' every one cannot be successful.

portant

portant action of doubtful event, a struggle for liberty, the resisting a potent invader, or the like. Greece, divided into small states frequently at war with each other, advanced literature and the fine arts to unrivalled perfection. The Corsicans, while engaged in a perilous war for defence of their liberties, exerted a vigorous national spirit: they founded an university for arts and sciences, a public library, and a public bank. After a long stupor during the dark ages of Christianity, arts and literature revived among the turbulent states of Italy. The royal society in London, and the academy of sciences in Paris, were both of them instituted after civil wars that had animated the people, and roused their activity.

An useful art is seldom lost, because it is in constant practice. And yet, tho' many useful arts were in perfection during the reign of Augustus Cæsar, it is amazing how ignorant and stupid men became, after the Roman empire was shattered by northern barbarians: they degenerated into savages. So ignorant were the Spanish Christians during the eighth and ninth centuries, that Alphonfus the Great,
King

King of Leon, was necessitated to employ Mahometan preceptors for educating his eldest son. Even Charlemagne could not sign his name: nor was he singular in that respect, being kept in countenance by several neighbouring princes.

As the progress of arts and sciences toward perfection is greatly promoted by emulation, nothing is more fatal to an art or science than to remove that spur, as where some extraordinary genius appears who soars above rivalry. Mathematics seem to be declining in Britain: the great Newton, having surpassed all the ancients, has not left to the moderns even the faintest hope of equalling him; and what man will enter the lists who despairs of victory?

In early times, the inventors of useful arts were remembered with fervent gratitude. Their history became fabulous by the many incredible exploits attributed to them. Diodorus Siculus mentions the Egyptian tradition of Osiris, that with a numerous army he traversed every inhabited part of the globe, in order to teach them the culture of wheat and of the vine. Beside the impracticability of supporting a numerous army where husbandry is unknown,

known, no army could enable Ofiris to introduce wheat or wine among stupid savages who live by hunting and fishing; which probably was the case, in that early period, of all the nations he visited.

In a country thinly peopled, where even necessary arts want hands, it is common to see one person exercising more arts than one: in several parts of Scotland, the same man serves as a physician, surgeon, and apothecary. In a very populous country, even simple arts are split into parts, and there is an artist for each part: in the populous towns of ancient Egypt, a physician was confined to a single disease. In mechanic arts that mode is excellent. As a hand confined to a single operation becomes both expert and expeditious, a mechanic art is perfected by having its different operations distributed among the greatest number of hands: many hands are employ'd in making a watch; and a still greater number in manufacturing a web of woollen cloth. Various arts or operations carried on by the same man, en-vigorate his mind, because they exercise different faculties; and as he cannot be equally expert in every art or operation, he

is frequently reduced to supply want of skill by thought and invention. Constant application, on the contrary, to a single operation, confines the mind to a single object, and excludes all thought and invention: in such a train of life, the operator becomes dull and stupid, like a beast of burden. The difference is visible in the manners of the people: in a country where, from want of hands, several occupations must be carried on by the same person, the people are knowing and conversable: in a populous country where manufactures flourish, they are ignorant and unsociable. The same effect is visible in countries where an art or manufacture is confined to a certain class of men. It is visible in Hindostan, where the people are divided into *casts*, which never mix even by marriage, and where every man follows his father's trade. The Dutch lint-boors are a similar instance: the same families carry on the trade from generation to generation; and are accordingly ignorant and brutish even beyond other Dutch peasants. The inhabitants of Buckhaven, a seaport in the county of Fife, were originally a colony of foreigners, invited hither to teach our people the art of

fishing,

fishing. They continue fishers to this day, marry among themselves, have little intercourse with their neighbours, and are dull and stupid to a proverb *.

A gentleman of a moderate fortune passed his time while husbandry was asleep, like a Birmingham workman who hammers a button from morning to evening. A certain gentleman for example who lived on his estate, issued forth to walk as the clock struck eleven. Every day he trod the same path, leading to an eminence which opened a view of the sea. A rock on the summit was his seat, where after resting an hour he returned home at leisure. It is not a little singular that this exercise was repeated day after day for forty-three years, without interruption for the last twenty years of the gentleman's life. And though he has been long dead, the impression of his heels in the sod remains visible to this day. Men by inaction degenerate into oysters.

* Population has one advantage not commonly thought of, which is, that it banishes ghosts and apparitions. Such imaginary beings are never seen but by solitary persons in solitary places. In great towns they are unknown: you never hear of such a thing in Holland, which in effect is one great town.

S E C T. II.

Progress of Taste and of the Fine Arts.

THE sense by which we perceive right and wrong in actions, is termed the *moral sense*: the sense by which we perceive beauty and deformity in objects, is termed *taste*. Perfection in the moral sense consists in perceiving the minutest differences of right and wrong: perfection in taste consists in perceiving the minutest differences of beauty and deformity; and such perfection is termed *delicacy of taste* (a).

The moral sense is born with us; and so is taste: yet both of them require much cultivation. Among savages, the moral sense is faint and obscure; and taste still more so *. Even in the most enlightened ages, it requires in a judge both education and experience to perceive accurately

* Some Iroquois, after seeing all the beauties of Paris, admired nothing but the street De la Houquette, where they found a constant supply of eatables.

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 112. edit. 5.

the

the various modifications of right and wrong : and to acquire delicacy of taste, a man must grow old in examining beauties and deformities. In Rome, abounding with productions of the fine arts, an illiterate shopkeeper is a more correct judge of statues, of pictures, and of buildings, than the best-educated citizen of London (a). Thus taste goes hand in hand with the moral sense in their progress toward maturity, and they ripen equally by the same sort of culture. Want, a barren soil, cramps the growth of both : sensuality, a soil too fat, corrupts both : the middle state, equally distant from dispiriting poverty and luxurious sensuality, is the soil in which both of them flourish.

As the fine arts are intimately connected with taste, it is impracticable, in tracing their progress, to separate them by accurate limits. I join therefore the progress of the fine arts to that of taste, where the former depends entirely on the latter ; and I handle separately the progress of the fine arts, where that progress is influenced by other circumstances beside taste.

(a) Elements of Criticism, chap. 25.

During

During the infancy of taste, imagination is suffered to roam, as in sleep, without control. Wonder is the passion of savages and of rustics ; to raise which, nothing is necessary but to invent giants and magicians, fairy-land and enchantment. The earliest exploits recorded of warlike nations, are giants mowing down whole armies, and little men overcoming giants ; witness Joannes Magnus, Torfeus, and other Scandinavian writers. Hence the absurd romances that delighted the world for ages ; which are now sunk into contempt every where. The more supernatural the facts related are, the more is wonder raised ; and in proportion to the degree of wonder is the tendency to belief among the vulgar (*a*). Madame de la Fayette led the way to novels in the present mode. She was the first who introduced sentiments instead of wonderful adventures, and amiable men instead of bloody heroes. In substituting distresses to prodigies, she made a discovery, that persons of taste and feeling are more attached by compassion than by wonder.

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 163. edit. 5.

By the improvement of our rational faculties, truth and nature came to bear sway : incredible fictions were banished : a remaining bias however for wonder paved the way to bombast language, turgid similes, and forc'd metaphors. The Song of Solomon, and many other Asiatic compositions, afford examples without end of such figures. These are commonly attributed to force of imagination in a warm climate ; but a more extensive view will show this to be a mistake. In every climate, hot and cold, the figurative style is carried to extravagance, during a certain period in the progress of writing ; a style that is relished by all at first, and continues to delight many till it yield to a taste polished by long experience (a). Even in the bitter-cold country of Iceland, we are at no loss for examples. A rainbow is termed *Bridge of the gods* : gold, *Tears of Frya* : the earth is termed *Daughter of Night*, the *vessel that floats upon Ages* ; and herbs and plants are her *hair*, or her *fleece*. Ice is termed *the great bridge* : a ship, *horse of the floods*. Many authors foolishly conjecture, that the Hurons and some other

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 2. p. 184. 284. edit. 5.

neighbouring nations, are of Asiatic extraction ; because, like the Asiatics, their discourse is highly figurative.

The national progress of morality is slow : the national progress of taste is still slower. In proportion as a nation polishes and improves in the arts of peace, taste ripens. The Chinese had long enjoy'd a regular system of government, while the Europeans were comparatively in a chaos ; and accordingly literary compositions in China were brought to perfection more early than in Europe. In their poetry they indulge no incredible fables, like those of Ariosto or the Arabian Tales ; but commonly select such as afford a good moral. Their novels, like those of the most approved kind among us, treat of misfortunes unforeseen, unexpected good luck, and persons finding out their real parents. The Orphan of China, composed in the fourteenth century, surpasses far any European play of that early period. But good writing has made a more rapid progress with us ; not from superiority of talents, but from the great labour the Chinese must undergo, in learning to read and write their own language.

The Chinese tragedy is indeed languid, and not sufficiently interesting ; which M. Voltaire ascribes to want of genius. With better reason he might have ascribed it to the nature of their government, so well contrived for preserving peace and order, as to afford few examples of surprising events, and little opportunity for exerting manly talents.

A nation cannot acquire a taste for ridicule till it emerges out of the savage state. Ridicule however is too rough for refined manners : Cicero discovers in Plautus a happy talent for ridicule, and peculiar delicacy of wit ; but Horace, who figured in the court of Augustus, eminent for delicacy of taste, declares against the low roughness of that author's raillery (*a*). The same Cicero, in a letter to Papirius Poëtus, complains that by the influx of foreigners the true Roman humour was lost. It was not the influx of foreigners, but the gradual progress of manners from the rough to the polished. The high burlesque style prevails commonly in the period between barbarity and politeness, in

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, -chap. 2. part 2.

which a taste somewhat improved discovers the ridicule of former manners. Rabelais in France and Butler in England are illustrious examples. Dr Swift is our latest burlesque writer, and probably is the last.

Emulation among a multitude of small states in Greece, was enflamed by their public games : by that means, taste ripened, and the fine arts were promoted. Taste refines gradually ; and is advanced toward perfection by a diligent study of beautiful productions. Rome was indebted to Greece, for that delicacy of taste which shone during the reign of Augustus, especially in literary compositions. But taste could not long flourish in a despotic government : so low had the Roman taste fallen in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, that nothing would please him but to suppress Homer, and in his place to install a silly Greek poet, named *Antimachus*.

The northern barbarians who desolated the Roman empire and revived in some measure the savage state, occasioned a woful decay of taste. Pope Gregory the Great, struck with the beauty of some Saxon youths exposed to sale in Rome,
asked

asked to what country they belonged. Being told they were Angles, he said that they ought more properly to be denominated angels; and that it was a pity so beautiful a countenance should cover a mind devoid of grace. Hearing that the name of their province was *Deïri*, a division of Northumberland, “*Deïri!*” replied he, “excellent: they are called to “the mercy of God from his anger [*de ira*].” Being also told, that Alla was the king of that province, “Alleluia,” cried he, “we must endeavour that “the praises of God be sung in their “country.” Puns and conundrums passed in ignorant times for Sterling wit. Pope Gregory VII. *anno* 1080, presented to the Emperor Rodolph a crown of gold with the following inscription: *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho*. Miserably low must taste have been in that period, when a childish play of words was relished as a proper decoration for a serious solemnity.

Pope Innocent III. *anno* 1207, made a present of jewels to John King of England, accompanied with the following letter, praised by Pere Orleans as full of spirit and beauty. “Consider this

“ present with respect to form, num-
 “ ber, matter, and colour. The circular
 “ figure of the ring denotes eternity,
 “ which has neither beginning nor end.
 “ And by that figure your mind will be
 “ elevated from things terrestrial to things
 “ celestial. The number of four, making
 “ a square, denotes the firmness of a heart,
 “ proof against both adversity and prosper-
 “ ity ; especially when supported by the
 “ four cardinal virtues, justice, strength,
 “ prudence, and temperance. By the
 “ gold, which is the metal of the ring, is
 “ denoted wisdom, which excels among
 “ the gifts of Heaven as gold does among
 “ metals. Thus it is said of the Messiah,
 “ that the spirit of wisdom shall rest upon
 “ him : nor is there any thing more ne-
 “ cessary to a king, which made Solomon
 “ request it from God preferably to all o-
 “ ther goods. As to the colour of the
 “ stones, the green of the emerald denotes
 “ faith ; the purity of the sapphire, hope ;
 “ the red of the granite, charity ; the
 “ clearness of the topaz, good works.
 “ You have therefore in the emerald what
 “ will increase your faith ; in the sapphire,
 “ what will encourage you to hope ; in
 “ the granite, what will prompt you to
 “ love ;

“ love ; in the topaz, what will excite you
“ to act ; till having mounted by degrees
“ to the perfection of all the virtues, you
“ come at last to see the God of gods in
“ the celestial Sion.”

The famous golden bull of Germany, digested *anno* 1356 by Bartolus, a celebrated lawyer, and intended for a master-piece of composition, is replete with wild conceptions, without the least regard to truth, propriety, or connection. It begins with an apostrophe to Pride, to Satan, to Choler, and to Luxury : it asserts, that there must be seven electors for opposing the seven mortal sins : the fall of the angels, terrestrial paradise, Pompey, and Cæsar, are introduced ; and it is said, that Germany is founded on the Trinity, and on the three theological virtues. What can be more puerile ! A sermon preached by the Bishop of Bitonto, at the opening of the council of Trent, excels in that mode of composition. He proves, that a council is necessary ; because several councils have extirpated heresy, and deposed kings and emperors ; because the poets assemble councils of the gods ; because Moses writes, that at the creation of man and at confounding the language of
the

the giants, God acted in the manner of a council ; because religion has three heads, doctrine, sacraments, and charity, and that these three are termed *a council*. He exhorts the members of the council to strict unity, like the heroes in the Trojan horse. He asserts, that the gates of paradise and of the council are the same ; that the holy fathers should sprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it ; and that otherwise the Holy Ghost would open their mouths like those of Balaam and Caiaphas (a). James I. of Britain dedicates his Declaration against Vorstius to our Saviour, in the following words. “ To the
 “ honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus
 “ Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal
 “ Father, the only Theanthropos, mediator and reconciler of mankind ; in sign
 “ of thankfulness, his most humble and
 “ obliged servant, James, by the grace of
 “ God, King of Great Britain, France,
 “ and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, doth
 “ dedicate and consecrate this his Declaration.” Funeral orations were some time ago in fashion. Regnard, who was in Stockholm about the year 1680, heard

(a) Father Paul's history of Trent, lib. 1.

a funeral oration at the burial of a servant-maid. The priest, after mentioning her parents and the place of her birth, praised her as an excellent cook, and enlarged upon every ragout that she made in perfection. She had but one fault, he said, which was the salting her dishes too much; but that she show'd thereby her prudence, of which salt is the symbol; a stroke of wit that probably was admired by the audience. Funeral orations are out of fashion: the futility of a trite panegyric purchased with money, and indecent flattery in circumstances that require sincerity and truth, could not long stand against improved taste. The yearly feast of the ass that carried the mother of God into Egypt, was a most ridiculous farce, highly relished in the dark ages of Christianity. See the description of that feast in Voltaire's General History (a).

The public amusements of our forefathers, show the grossness of their taste after they were reduced to barbarism by the Goths and Vandals. The plays termed *Mysteries*, because they were borrow'd from the scriptures, indicate gross man-

(a) Chap. 78.

ners as well as infantine taste ; and yet in France, not farther back than three or four centuries, these Mysteries were such favourites as constantly to make a part at every public festival. In a Spanish play or mystery Jesus Christ and the devil, ridiculously dressed, enter into a dispute about some point of controversy, are enflamed, proceed to blows, and finish the entertainment with a faraband. The reformation of religion, which roused a spirit of enquiry, banished that amusement, not only as low but as indecent. A sort of plays succeeded, termed *Moralities*, less indecent indeed, but little preferable in point of composition. These Moralities have also been long banished, except in Spain, where they still continue in vogue. The devil is commonly the hero : nor do the Spaniards make any difficulty, even in their more regular plays, to introduce supernatural and allegorical beings upon the same stage with men and women. The Cardinal Colonna carried into Spain a beautiful bust of the Emperor Caligula. In the war about the succession of Spain, after the death of its king Charles II. Lord Gallway, upon a painful search, found

that

that bust serving as a weight to a church-clock.

In the days of our unpolished forefathers, who were governed by pride as well as by hatred, princes and men of rank entertained a changeling, distinguished by the name of *fool*; who being the butt of their silly jokes, flattered their self-conceit. Such amusement, no less gross than inhuman, could not show its face even in the dawn of taste: it was rendered less insipid and less inhuman, by entertaining one of real wit; who, under disguise of a fool, was indulged in the most satirical truths. Upon a further purification of taste, it was discovered, that to draw amusement from folly, real or pretended, is below the dignity of human nature. More refined amusements were invented, such as balls, public spectacles, gaming, and society with women. Parasites, described by Plautus and Terence, were of such a rank as to be permitted to dine with gentlemen; and yet were so despicable as to be the butt of every man's joke. They were placed at the lower end of the table; and the guests diverted themselves with daubing their faces, and even kicking and

cuffing them ; all which was patiently born for the sake of a plentiful meal. They resembled the fools and clowns of later times, being equally intended to be laughed at : but the parasite profession shows grosser manners ; it being shockingly indelicate in a company of gentlemen, to abuse one of their own number, however contemptible in point of character.

Pride, which introduced fools, brought dwarfs also into fashion. In Italy, that taste was carried to extravagance. “ Being “ at Rome in the year 1566,” says a French writer, “ I was invited by Cardinal Vitelli to a feast, where we were “ served by no fewer than thirty-four “ dwarfs, most of them horribly distorted.” Was not the taste of that Cardinal horribly distorted ? The same author adds, that Francis I. and Henry II. Kings of France, had many dwarfs : one named *Great John* was the least ever had been seen, except a dwarf at Milan, who was carried about in a cage.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, no sort of commerce was carried on in Europe but in markets and fairs. Artificers and
manufacturers

manufacturers were dispersed through the country, and so were monasteries; the towns being inhabited by none but clergymen, and those who immediately depended on them. The nobility lived on their estates, unless when they followed the court. The low people were not at liberty to desert the place of their birth: the *villain* was annexed to the estate, and the *slave*, to the person, of his lord. Slavery fostered rough manners; and there could be no improvement in manners, nor in taste, where there was no society. Of all the polite nations in Europe, the English were the latest of taking to a town-life; and their progress in taste and manners, has been proportionally slow.

Our celebrated poet Ben Johnson lived at a time when turgid conceptions and bombast language were highly relished; and his compositions are in the perfection of that taste, witness the quotations from him in *Elements of Criticism* (a). He was but too faithfully imitated by Beaumont and Fletcher and other writers of that age. We owe to Dryden the dawn of a better

(a) Vol. I. p. 244. edit. 5.

taste. For tho' the mode of writing in his time led him to the bombast, yet a just imitation of nature frequently breaks forth, especially in his later compositions. And as nature will always at last prevail, the copies of nature given by that eminent writer were highly relished, produced many happy imitations, and in time brought about a total revolution of taste; which kept pace with that of government, both equally happy for this nation. Here is a fair deduction of the progress of taste in Britain. But according to that progress, what shall be said of the immortal Shakespeare, in whose works is displayed the perfection of taste. Was not his appearance at least a century too early? Such events happen sometimes contrary to the ordinary progress. This was the case of Roger Bacon as well as of Shakespeare: they were blazing stars that gave but a temporary lustre, and left the world as void of light as before. Ben Johnson accordingly, and even Beaumont and Fletcher, were greater national favourites than Shakespeare; and in the same manner, the age before, Lucan was ranked above Virgil by every critic. By the same bad taste,

taste, the true sublime of Milton was little relished for more than half a century after *Paradise Lost* was published. Ill-fated Shakespeare ! who appeared in an age unworthy of him. That divine writer, who, merely by force of genius, so far surpassed his cotemporaries, how far would he have surpassed even himself, had he been animated with the praises so justly bestow'd on him in later times ? We have Dryden's authority that taste in his time was considerably refined :

- " They who have best succeeded on the stage,
- " Have still conform'd their genius to their age.
- " Thus Johnson did mechanic humour show,
- " When men were dull, and conversation low.
- " Then comedy was faultless, but 'twas coarse :
- " Cobb's Tankard was a jest, and Otter's Horse.
- " Fame then was cheap, and the first comer sped :
- " And they have kept it since by being dead.
- " But were they now to write, when critics weigh
- " Each line and ev'ry word throughout a play,
- " None of them, no not Johnson in his height,
- " Could pass without allowing grains for weight.
- " If love and honour now are higher rais'd,
- " It's not the poet, but the age is prais'd :
- " Wit's now arriv'd to a more high degree,
- " Our native language more refin'd and free.
- " Our ladies and our men now speak more wit
- " In conversation, than those poets writ."

The

The high opinion Dryden had of himself and of his age, breaks out in every line. Johnson probably had the same opinion of himself and of his age: the present age is not exempted from that bias; nor will the next age be, tho' probably maturity in taste will be still later. We humble ourselves before the ancients who are far removed from us; but not to soar above our immediate predecessors, would be a sad mortification. Many scenes in Dryden's plays, if not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horse, are more out of place. In the *Wild Gallant*, the hero is a wretch constantly employ'd, not only in cheating his creditors, but in cheating his mistress, a lady of high rank and fortune. And how absurd is the scene, where he convinces the father of his mistress, that the devil had got him with child! The character of Sir Martin Marall is below contempt. The scenes in the same play, of a bawd instructing one of her novices how to behave to her gallants, and of the novice practising her lessons, are perhaps not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horse, but surely they are less innocent.

It is common to see people fond of a
new

new fashion, vainly imagining that taste is greatly improved. Disguised dishes are a sort of bastard wit, like turrets jutting out at the top of a building. Such dishes were lately in high fashion, without having even the slender merit of being a new fashion. They prevailed in the days Charles II. as we learn from one of Dryden's plays. "Ay, it look'd like variety, " till we came to taste it; there were " twenty several dishes to the eye, but in " the palate nothing but spices. I had a " mind to eat of a pheasant, and so soon " as I got it into my mouth, I found I " was chewing a limb of cinnamon; then " I went to cut a piece of kid, and no " sooner it had touched my lips, but it " turn'd to red pepper: at last I began to " think myself another kind of Midas, " that every thing I touched should be " turned to spice."

Portugal was rising in power and splendor when Camoens wrote the *Lusiad*; and with respect to the music of verse it has merit. The author however is far from shining in point of taste. He makes a strange jumble of Heathen and Christian Deities. "Gama," observes Voltaire, " in

“ in a storm addresses his prayers to Christ,
 “ but it is Venus who comes to his relief.”
 Voltaire’s observation is but too well
 founded. In the first book, Jove sum-
 mons a council of the gods, which is de-
 scribed at great length, for no earthly
 purpose but to show that he favoured the
 Portuguese. Bacchus, on the other hand,
 declares against them upon the following
 account, that he himself had gained im-
 mortal glory as conqueror of the Indies ;
 which would be eclipsed if the Portuguese
 should also conquer them. A Moorish
 commander having received Gama with
 smiles, but with hatred in his heart, the
 poet brings down Bacchus from heaven to
 confirm the Moor in his wicked purposes ;
 which would have been perpetrated, had
 not Venus interposed in Gama’s behalf.
 In the second canto, Bacchus feigns him-
 self to be a Christian, in order to deceive
 the Portuguese ; but Venus implores her
 father Jupiter to protect them. And yet,
 after all, I am loth to condemn an early
 writer for introducing Heathen Deities as
 actors in a real history, when in the age
 of Lewis XIV. celebrated for refinement
 of taste, we find French writers, Boileau

in particular, guilty sometimes of the same absurdity (*a*).

At the meeting *an.* 1520 near Calais between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, it is observed by several French writers that the French nobility display'd more magnificence, the English more taste. If so, the alteration is great since that time: France at present gives the law to the rest of Europe in every matter of taste, gardening alone excepted. At the same time, tho' taste in France is more correct than in any other country, it will bear still some purification. The scene of a clyster-pipe in Moliere is too low even for a farce; and yet to this day it is acted, with a few softening, before the most polite audience in Europe*.

In Elements of Criticism (*b*) several causes

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, chap. 22. (*b*) Chap. 25.

* No nation equals the French in dress, household furniture, watches, snuff-boxes, and in toys of every kind. The Italians have always excelled in architecture and painting, the English in gardening. How are such national differences to be explained? A nation, like an individual, may be disposed to grand objects, which swell the mind. A nation, like an individual, may relish things neat,

ses are mentioned that may retard taste in its progress toward maturity, and that may give it a retrograde motion when it is in maturity. There are many biases both natural and acquired that tend to mislead persons even of the best taste. Of the latter, instances are without number. I select one or two to show what influence even the slightest circumstances have on taste. The only tree beautiful at all seasons is the holly : in winter, its deep and shining green intitles it to be the queen of the grove : in summer, this colour completes the harmonious mixture of shades, so pleasing in that season ! Mrs D—— is lively and sociable. She is eminent above most of her sex for a correct taste, display'd not only within doors but in the garden and in the field. Having become mistress of a great house by matrimony, the most honourable of all titles, a group of tall hollies, which had long obscured one of the capital rooms, soon attracted her eye.

pretty, and elegant. And if a taste of any kind happen once to prevail among men of figure, it soon turns general. The verdure of the fields in England invites a polishing hand.

She

She took an aversion to a holly, and was not at ease till the group was extirpated. Such a bias is perfectly harmless. What follows is not altogether so. The Oxonians disliked the great Newton because he was educated at Cambridge; and they favoured every book writ against him. That bias, I hope, has not come down to the present time.

Refinement of taste in a nation, is always accompanied with refinement of manners: people accustomed to behold order and elegance in public buildings and public gardens, acquire urbanity in private. But it is irksome to trudge long in a beaten track, familiar to all the world; and therefore, leaving what is said above, like a statue curtail'd of legs and arms, I hasten to the history of the fine arts.

Useful arts paved the way to fine arts. Men upon whom the former had bestow'd every convenience, turned their thoughts to the latter. Beauty was studied in objects of sight; and men of taste attached themselves to the fine arts, which multiply'd their enjoyments and improved their benevolence. Sculpture and painting made an early figure in Greece; which

E c 2 afforded

afforded plenty of beautiful originals to be copied in these imitative arts. Statuary, a more simple imitation than painting, was sooner brought to perfection: the statue of Jupiter by Phidias and of Juno by Polycletes, tho' the admiration of all the world, were executed long before the art of light and shade was known. Appollodorus, and Zeuxis his disciple, who flourished in the fifteenth Olympiad, were the first who figured in that art. Another cause concurred to advance statuary before painting in Greece, viz. a great demand for statues of their gods. Architecture, as a fine art, made a slower progress. Proportions, upon which its elegance chiefly depends, cannot be accurately ascertained but by an infinity of trials in great buildings: a model cannot be relied on; for a large and a small building even of the same form, require different proportions. Gardening made a still slower progress than architecture: the palace of Alcinous, in the seventh book of the *Odyssæy*, is grand and highly ornamented; but his garden is no better than what we term a kitchen-garden. Gardening has made a great progress in England. In France, nature

ture is sacrificed to conceit. The gardens of Versailles deviate from nature no less than the hanging gardens at Babylon. In Scotland, a taste is happily commenced for neat houses and ornamented fields; and the circumstances of the people make it probable, that taste there will improve gradually till it arrive at perfection. Few gentlemen in Scotland can afford the expence of London; and supposing them to pass the winter in a provincial town, they return to the occupations of the country with redoubled ardor. As they are safe from the corruption of opulence, nature will be their guide in every plan; and the very face of their country will oblige them to follow nature; being diversified with hills and plains, rocks and rivers, that require nothing but polishing. It is no unpleasing prospect, that Scotland may in a century or sooner compare with England; not indeed in magnificence of country-seats, but in sweetness and variety of concordant parts.

The ancient churches in this island cannot be our own invention, being unfit for a cold climate. The vast space they occupy, quantity of stone, and gloominess
by

by excluding the sun, afford a refreshing coolness, and fit them for a hot climate. It is highly probable that they have been copied from the mosques in the south of Spain, erected there by the Saracens. Spain, when possessed by that people, was the centre of arts and sciences, and led the fashion in every thing beautiful and magnificent.

From the fine arts mentioned, we proceed to literature. It is agreed among all antiquaries, that the first writings were in verse, and that prose was of a much later date. The first Greek who wrote in prose, was Pherecides Syrus: the first Roman, was Appius Cæcus, who composed a declamation against Pyrrhus. The four books of Chatah Bhade, the sacred book of Hindostan, are composed in verse stanzas; and the Arabian compositions in prose followed long after those in verse. To account for that singular fact, many learned pens have been employ'd; but without success. By some it has been urged, that as memory is the only record of events where writing is unknown, history originally was composed in verse for the sake of memory. This is not satisfactory. To undertake

undertake the painful task of composing in verse for the sake of memory, would require more foresight than ever was exerted by a barbarian ; not to mention that other means were used for preserving the memory of remarkable events, a heap of stones, a pillar, or other object that catches the eye. The account given by Longinus is more ingenious. In a fragment of his treatise on verse, the only part that remains, he observes, “ that measure or verse belongs to poetry, because poetry represents the various passions with their language ; for which reason the ancients, in their ordinary discourse, delivered their thoughts in verse rather than in prose.” Longinus thought, that anciently men were more exposed to accidents and dangers, than when they were protected by good government and by fortified cities. But he seems not to have considered, that fear and grief, inspired by dangers and misfortunes, are better suited to humble prose than to elevated verse. I add, that however natural poetical diction may be when one is animated with any vivid passion, it is not supposable that the ancients never wrote nor spoke but

but when excited by passion. Their history, their laws, their covenants, were certainly not composed in that tone of mind.

An important article in the progress of the fine arts that writers have not sufficiently attended to, will, if I mistake not, explain this mystery. The article is the profession of a bard, which sprung up in early times before writing was known, and died away gradually as writing turned more and more common. The curiosity of men is great with respect to the transactions of their forefathers; and when such transactions are described in verse accompanied with music, the performance is enchanting. An ear, a voice, skill in instrumental music, and above all a poetical genius, are requisite to excel in that complicated art. As such talents are rare, the few that possessed them were highly esteemed; and hence the profession of a bard, which, beside natural talents, required more culture and exercise than any other known art. Bards were capital persons at every festival and at every solemnity. Their songs, which, by recording the achievements of kings and heroes, a-

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nimated

nimated every hearer, must have been the entertainment of every warlike nation. We have Hesiod's authority, that in his time bards were as common as potters or joiners, and as liable to envy. Demodocus is mentioned by Homer as a celebrated bard (*a*); and Phemius, another bard, is introduced by him deprecating the wrath of Ulysses, in the following words.

“ O king ! to mercy be thy soul inclin'd,
“ And spare the poet's ever-gentle kind.
“ A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
“ For dear to gods and men is sacred song.
“ Self-taught I sing : by heav'n, and heav'n alone,
“ The genuine seeds of poetry are sown ;
“ And (what the gods bestow) the lofty lay,
“ To gods alone, and godlike worth, we pay.
“ Save then the poet, and thyself reward ;
“ 'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record.”

Cicero reports, that at Roman festivals anciently, the virtues and exploits of their great men were sung (*b*). The same custom prevailed in Peru and Mexico, as we learn from Garcilasso and other authors.

(*a*) *Odyssæ*, b. 8.

(*b*) *Tusculan Questions*, lib. 4. N^o 3. & 4.

Strabo (a) gives a very particular account of the Gallic bards. The following quotation is from Ammianus Marcellinus (b).

“Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium
 “facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum
 “dulcibus lyræ modulis, cantitarunt.”

We have for our authority Father Gobien, that even the inhabitants of the Marian islands have bards, who are greatly admired, because in their songs are celebrated the feats of their ancestors. There are traces of the same kind among the Apalachites in North America *. And we shall see afterward (c), that in no other part of the

(a) Lib. 4. (b) Lib. 15. cap. 9.

(c) Sketch 6. Progress of Manners.

* The first seal that a young Greenlander catches is made a feast for the family and neighbours. The young champion, during the repast, descants upon his address in catching the animal: the guests admire his dexterity, and extol the flavour of the meat. Their only music is a sort of drum, which accompanies a song in praise of seal-catching, in praise of their ancestors, or in welcoming the sun's return to them. Here are the rudiments of the bard-profession. The song is made for a chorus, as many of our ancient songs are. Take the following example.

“The

the world were bards more honoured than in Britain and Scandinavia.

Bards were the only historians before writing was introduced. Tacitus (*a*) says, that the songs of the German bards were their only annals. And Joannes Magnus Archbishop of Upsal acknowledges, that in compiling his history of the ancient Goths, he had no other records but the songs of the bards. As these songs made an illustrious figure at every festival, they were convey'd in every family by parents to their children; and in that manner were kept alive before writing was known.

The invention of writing made a change in the bard-profession. It is now an agreed point, that no poetry is fit to be accompanied with music, but what is

“ The welcome sun returns again,

“ Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu !

“ And brings us weather fine and fair,

“ Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu !

The bard sings the first and third lines, accompanying it with his drum and with a sort of dance. The other lines, termed the burden of the song are sung by the guests.

(*a*) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 2.

simple : a complicated thought or description requires the utmost attention, and leaves none for the music ; or if it divide the attention, it makes but a faint impression (a). The simple operas of Quinault bear away the palm from every thing of the kind composed by Boileau or Racine. But when a language, in its progress to maturity, is enriched with variety of phrases fit to express the most elevated thoughts, men of genius aspire to the higher strains of poetry, leaving music and song to the bards : which distinguishes the profession of a poet from that of a bard. Homer, in a lax sense, may be termed a bard ; for in that character he strolled from feast to feast. But he was not a bard in the original sense : he indeed recited his poems to crowded audiences ; but his poems are too complex for music, and he probably did not sing them, nor accompany them with the lyre. The *Trovadores* of Provence were bards in the original sense ; and made a capital figure in days of ignorance, when few could read, and fewer write. In later times the

(a) See *Elements of Criticism*, vol. 2. Appendix, article 33.

songs of the bards were taken down in writing, which gave every one access to them without a bard; and the profession sunk by degrees into oblivion. Among the highlanders of Scotland, reading and writing in their own tongue is not common even at present; and that circumstance supported long the bard-profession among them, after being forgot among neighbouring nations. Ossian was the most celebrated bard in Caledonia, as Homer was in Greece *.

From the foregoing historical deduction, the reader will discover without my assistance why the first writings were in verse. The songs of the bards, being universal favourites, were certainly the first compositions that writing was employ'd upon: they would be carefully collected

* The multitude are struck with what is new and splendid, but seldom continue long in a wrong taste. Voltaire holds it to be a strong testimony for the Gierusalemme Liberata, that even the gondoliers in Venice have it mostly by heart; and that one no sooner pronounces a stanza than another carries it on. Ossian has the same testimony in his favour: there are not many highlanders, even of the lowest rank, but can repeat long passages out of his works.

by the most skilful writers, in order to preserve them in perpetual remembrance. The following part of the progress is equally obvious. People acquainted with no written compositions but what were in verse, composed in verse their laws, their religious ceremonies, and every memorable transaction. But when subjects of writing multiplied and became more and more involved, when people began to reason, to teach, and to harangue; they were obliged to descend to humble prose: for to confine a writer or speaker to verse in handling subjects of that nature, would be a burden unsupportable.

The prose compositions of early historians are all of them dramatic. A writer destitute of art is naturally prompted to relate facts as he saw them performed: he introduces his personages as speaking and conferring; and relates only what was acted and not spoken *. The historical books of the Old Testament are composed in that mode; and so addicted to the dra-

* Low people to this day tell their story in dialogue as ancient writers did, and for the same reason. They relate things as they saw and heard them.

matic are the authors of these books, that they frequently introduce God himself into the dialogue. At the same time, the simplicity of that mode is happily suited to the poverty of every language in its early periods. The dramatic mode has a delicious effect in expressing sentiments, and every thing that is simple and tender (*a*). Take the following instance of a low incident becoming by that means not a little interesting. Naomi having lost her husband and her two sons in foreign parts, and purposing to return to the land of her forefathers, said to her two daughters in law, “ Go, return each to her mother’s house : “ the LORD deal kindly with you, as ye “ have dealt with the dead, and with me. “ The LORD grant you that you may find “ rest, each of you in the house of her “ husband. Then she kissed them : and “ they lift up their voice and wept. And “ they said unto her, Surely we will return with thee unto thy people. And “ Naomi said, Turn again, my daughters : “ why will ye go with me ? are there yet “ any more husbands in my womb, that “ they may be your husbands ? Turn again,

(*a*) See Elements of Criticism, chap. 22.

“ my

“ my daughters, go your way, for I am too
 “ old to have an husband : if I should say,
 “ I have hope, if I should have a husband
 “ also to night, and should also bear sons;
 “ would ye tarry for them till they were
 “ grown ? would ye stay for them from
 “ having husbands ? nay, my daughters :
 “ for it grieveth me much for your sakes,
 “ that the hand of the LORD is gone out
 “ against me. And they lift up their voice
 “ and wept again : and Orpah kissed her
 “ mother in law, but Ruth clave unto
 “ her. And she said, Behold, thy sister in
 “ law is gone back unto her people, and
 “ unto her gods : return thou after thy
 “ sister in law. And Ruth said, Intreat
 “ me not to leave thee, or to return from
 “ following after thee : for whither thou
 “ goest, I will go ; and where thou lodgest
 “ I will lodge : thy people shall be my
 “ people, and thy God my God : where
 “ thou diest, will I die, and there will I
 “ be buried : the Lord do so to me, and
 “ more also, if ought but death part thee
 “ and me. When she saw that she was
 “ stedfastly minded to go with her, then
 “ she left speaking unto her.

“ So they two went until they came to

“ Beth-lehem. And it came to pass when
“ they were come to Beth-lehem, that all
“ the city was moved about them, and
“ they said, Is this Naomi? And she said
“ unto them, Call me not Naomi, call me
“ Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt
“ very bitterly with me. I went out full,
“ and the LORD hath brought me home
“ again empty: why then call ye me Na-
“ omi, seeing the LORD hath testified a-
“ gainst me, and the Almighty hath af-
“ flicted me? So Naomi returned, and
“ Ruth the Moabitess her daughter in law
“ with her, which returned out of the
“ country of Moab: and they came to
“ Beth-lehem in the beginning of barley-
“ harvest.

“ And Naomi had a kinsman of her
“ husband's, a mighty man of wealth, of
“ the family of Elimelech; and his name
“ was Boaz. And Ruth the Moabitess
“ said unto Naomi, Let me now go to the
“ field, and glean ears of corn after him
“ in whose sight I shall find grace. And
“ she said unto her, Go, my daughter.
“ And she went, and came, and gleaned
“ in the field after the reapers: and her
“ hap was to light on a part of the field

“ belonging unto Boaz, who was of the
 “ kindred of Elimelech.

“ And behold, Boaz came from Beth-
 “ lehem, and said unto the reapers, The
 “ LORD be with you : and they answered
 “ him, The LORD blefs thee. Then
 “ said Boaz unto his servant that was set
 “ over the reapers, Whose damfel is this ?
 “ And the servant that was set over the
 “ reapers answered and said, It is the
 “ Moabitish damfel that came back with
 “ Naomi, out of the country of Moab :
 “ and ſhe ſaid, I pray you, let me glean,
 “ and gather after the reapers, amongſt
 “ the ſheaves : ſo ſhe came, and hath conti-
 “ nued even from the morning until now,
 “ that ſhe tarried a little in the houſe,
 “ Then ſaid Boaz unto Ruth, Heareſt
 “ thou not, my daughter ? Go not to
 “ glean in another field, neither go from
 “ hence, but abide here faſt by my mai-
 “ dens. Let thine eyes be on the field
 “ that they do reap, and go thou after
 “ them : have I not charged the young
 “ men, that they ſhall not touch thee ?
 “ and when thou art athiſt, go unto the
 “ veſſels, and drink of that which the
 “ young men have drawn. Then ſhe fell
 “ on

“ on her face, and bowed herself to the
“ ground, and said unto him, Why have
“ I found grace in thine eyes, that thou
“ shouldst take knowledge of me, seeing I
“ am a stranger? And Boaz answered
“ and said unto her, It hath fully been
“ shewed me all that thou hast done unto
“ thy mother in law since the death of
“ thine husband : and how thou hast left
“ thy father and thy mother, and the
“ land of thy nativity, and art come unto
“ a people which thou knewest not here-
“ tofore. The LORD recompense thy
“ work, and a full reward be given thee
“ of the LORD God of Israel, under whose
“ wings thou art come to trust. Then she
“ said, Let me find favour in thy sight,
“ my lord, for that thou hast comforted
“ me, and for that thou hast spoken
“ friendly unto thine handmaid, though
“ I be not like unto one of thine hand-
“ maidens. And Boaz said unto her, At
“ meal-time come thou hither, and eat of
“ the bread, and dip thy morsel in the
“ vinegar. And she sat beside the reap-
“ ers : and he reached her parched corn,
“ and she did eat, and was sufficed, and
“ left. And when she was risen up to

G g 2 “ glean,

“ glean, Boaz commanded his young
 “ men, saying, Let her glean even among
 “ the sheaves, and reproach her not. And
 “ let fall also some of the handfuls of pur-
 “ pose for her, and leave them, that she may
 “ glean them, and rebuke her not. So
 “ she gleaned in the field until even, and
 “ beat out that she had gleaned : and it
 “ was about an ephah of barley.

“ And she took it up, and went into
 “ the city : and her mother in law saw
 “ what she had gleaned : and she brought
 “ forth, and gave to her that she had re-
 “ served, after she was sufficed. And her
 “ mother in law said unto her, Where
 “ hast thou gleaned to day ? and where
 “ wroughtest thou ? blessed be he that
 “ did take knowledge of thee. And she
 “ shewed her mother in law with whom
 “ she had wrought, and said, The man’s
 “ name with whom I wrought to day, is
 “ Boaz. And Naomi said unto her daugh-
 “ ter in law, Blessed be he of the LORD,
 “ who hath not left off his kindness to the
 “ living and to the dead. And Naomi
 “ said unto her, The man is near of kin
 “ unto us, one of our next kinsmen. And
 “ Ruth the Moabites said, He said unto
 “ me

“ me also, Thou shalt keep fast by my
“ young men, until they have ended all
“ my harvest. And Naomi said unto
“ Ruth her daughter in law, It is good,
“ my daughter, that thou go out with his
“ maidens, that they meet thee not in
“ any other field. So she kept fast by the
“ maidens of Boaz to glean, unto the end
“ of barley-harvest, and of wheat-harvest;
“ and dwelt with her mother in law.

“ Then Naomi her mother in law said
“ unto her, My daughter, shall I not seek
“ rest for thee, that it may be well with
“ thee? And now is not Boaz of our
“ kindred, with whose maidens thou
“ wast? Behold, he winnoweth barley to
“ night in the threshing-floor. Wash
“ thy self therefore, and anoint thee, and
“ put thy raiment upon thee, and get
“ thee down to the floor: but make not
“ thyself known unto the man, until he
“ shall have done eating and drinking.
“ And it shall be when he lieth down, that
“ thou shalt mark the place where he shall
“ lie, and thou shalt go in, and uncover
“ his feet, and lay thee down, and he will
“ tell thee what thou shalt do. And she
“ said

“ said unto her, All that thou sayst unto
 “ me, I will do.

“ And she went down unto the floor,
 “ and did according to all that her mo-
 “ ther in law bade her. And when Boaz
 “ had eaten and drunk, and his heart was
 “ merry, he went to lie down at the end
 “ of the heap of corn : and she came soft-
 “ ly, and uncovered his feet, and laid her
 “ down.

“ And it came to pass at midnight, that
 “ the man was afraid, and turned him-
 “ self : and behold, a woman lay at his
 “ feet. And he said, Who art thou ? And
 “ she answered, I am Ruth thine hand-
 “ maid : spread therefore thy skirt over
 “ thine handmaid, for thou art a near
 “ kinsman. And he said, Blessed be thou
 “ of the LORD, my daughter : for thou
 “ hast shewed more kindness in the latter
 “ end, than at the beginning, inasmuch
 “ as thou followedst not young men, whe-
 “ ther poor or rich. And now, my
 “ daughter, fear not, I will do to thee all
 “ that thou requirest : for all the city of
 “ my people doth know, that thou art a
 “ virtuous woman. And now it is true,
 “ that I am thy near kinsman : howbeit
 “ there

“ there is a kinsman nearer than I. Tarry
“ this night, and it shall be in the morn-
“ ing, that if he will perform unto thee
“ the part of a kinsman, well, let him do
“ the kinsman’s part ; but if he will not
“ do the part of a kinsman to thee, then
“ will I do the part of a kinsman to thee,
“ as the LORD liveth : lie down until the
“ morning.

“ And she lay at his feet until the morn-
“ ing : and she rose up before one could
“ know another. And he said, Let it not
“ be known that a woman came into the
“ floor. Also he said, Bring the vail that
“ thou hast upon thee, and hold it. And
“ when she held it, he measured six mea-
“ sures of barley, and laid it on her : and
“ she went into the city. And when she
“ came to her mother in law, she said,
“ Who art thou, my daughter ? And she
“ told her all that the man had done to
“ her. And she said, These six measures
“ of barley gave he me ; for he said to me,
“ Go not empty unto thy mother in law.
“ Then said she, Sit still, my daughter,
“ until thou know how the matter will
“ fall : for the man will not be in rest,
“ until

“ until he have finished the thing this
 “ day.

“ Then went Boaz up to the gate, and sat
 “ him down there: and behold, the kinf-
 “ man of whom Boaz spake, came by;
 “ unto whom he said, Ho, such a one,
 “ turn aside, sit down here. And he
 “ turned aside and sat down. And he
 “ took ten men of the elders of the city,
 “ and said, Sit ye down here. And they
 “ sat down. And he said unto the kinf-
 “ man, Naomi that is come again out of
 “ the country of Moab, selleth a parcel of
 “ land, which was our brother Elime-
 “ lech's. And I thought to advertise thee,
 “ saying, Buy it before the inhabitants,
 “ and before the elders of my people. If
 “ thou wilt redeem it, redeem it; but if
 “ thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me,
 “ that I may know: for there is none to
 “ redeem it beside thee, and I am after
 “ thee. And he said, I will redeem it.
 “ Then said Boaz, What day thou buyest
 “ the field of the hand of Naomi, thou
 “ must buy it also of Ruth the Moabitess,
 “ the wife of the dead, to raise up the
 “ name of the dead upon his inheritance.
 “ And the kinsman said, I cannot redeem
 “ it

“ it for myself, lest I mar mine own inheritance : redeem thou my right to thy self, for I cannot redeem it. Now this was the manner in former time in Israel, concerning redeeming, and concerning changing, for to confirm all things : A man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour : and this was a testimony in Israel. Therefore the kinsman said unto Boaz, Buy it for thee : so he drew off his shoe. And Boaz said unto the elders, and unto all the people, Ye are witnesses this day, that I have bought all that was Elimelech's, and all that was Chilion's, and Mahlon's, of the hand of Naomi. Moreover, Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, have I purchased to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren, and from the gate of his place : ye are witnesses this day. And all the people that were in the gate, and the elders said, We are witnesses : The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house, like Rachel, and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel : and do thou

VOL. I. H h “ worthily

“ worthily in Ephratah, and be famous
 “ in Beth-lehem. And let thy house be
 “ like the house of Pharez (whom Tamar
 “ bare unto Judah) of the seed which the
 “ LORD shall give thee of this young wo-
 “ man.

“ So Boaz took Ruth, and she was his
 “ wife: and when he went in unto her,
 “ the LORD gave her conception, and she
 “ bare a son. And the women said unto
 “ Naomi, Blessed be the LORD, which
 “ hath not left thee this day without a
 “ kinsman, that his name may be famous
 “ in Israel. And he shall be unto thee a
 “ restorer of thy life, and a nourisher of
 “ thine old age: for thy daughter in law
 “ which loveth thee, which is better to
 “ thee than seven sons, hath born him.
 “ And Naomi took the child, and laid it
 “ in her bosom, and became nurse unto
 “ it (a).”

The dramatic mode is far from being so agreeable in relating bare historical facts. Take the following example.

“ Wherefore Nathan spake unto Bath-
 “ sheba the mother of Solomon, saying,
 “ Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the

(a) Ruth i. 8. — iv. 16.

“ son

“ son of Haggith doth reign, and David
“ our lord knoweth it not? Now therefore
“ come, let me, I pray thee, give thee
“ counsel, that thou mayst save thine own
“ life, and the life of thy son Solomon.
“ Go, and get thee in unto king David,
“ and say unto him, Didst not thou, my
“ lord O king, swear unto thine hand-
“ maid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy
“ son shall reign after me, and he shall sit
“ upon my throne? why then doth Ado-
“ nijah reign? Behold, while thou yet
“ talkest there with the king, I will also
“ come in after thee, and confirm thy
“ words.

“ And Bath-sheba went in unto the
“ king, into the chamber: and the king
“ was very old; and Abishag the Shu-
“ nammite ministered unto the king. And
“ Bath-sheba bowed, and did obeisance
“ unto the king: and the king said, What
“ wouldst thou? And she said unto him,
“ My lord, thou swarest by the LORD thy
“ God unto thine handmaid, saying, Af-
“ furedly Solomon thy son shall reign af-
“ ter me, and he shall sit upon my throne:
“ and now behold, Adonijah reigneth;
“ and now my lord the king, thou know-

“ est it not. And he hath slain oxen, and
 “ fat cattle, and sheep in abundance, and
 “ hath called all the sons of the king, and
 “ Abiathar the priest, and Joab the cap-
 “ tain of the host : but Solomon thy ser-
 “ vant hath he not called. And thou,
 “ my lord O king, the eyes of all Israel
 “ are upon thee, that thou shouldst tell
 “ them who shall sit on the throne of my
 “ lord the king after him. Otherwise it
 “ shall come to pass, when my lord the
 “ king shall sleep with his fathers, that I
 “ and my son Solomon shall be counted
 “ offenders.

“ And lo, while she yet talked with the
 “ king, Nathan the prophet also came in.
 “ And they told the king, saying, Behold,
 “ Nathan the prophet. And when he was
 “ come in before the king, he bowed him-
 “ self before the king with his face to the
 “ ground. And Nathan said, My lord O
 “ king, hast thou said, Adonijah shall
 “ reign after me, and he shall sit upon
 “ my throne ? For he is gone down this
 “ day, and hath slain oxen, and fat cattle,
 “ and sheep in abundance, and hath call-
 “ ed all the king’s sons, and the captains
 “ of the host, and Abiathar the priest;
 “ and

“ and behold, théy eat and drink before
“ him, and fay, God fave king Adonijah.
“ But me, even me thy fervant, and Za-
“ dok the prieft, and Benaiah the fon of
“ Jehoiada, and thy fervant Solomon
“ hath he not called. Is this thing done
“ by my lord the king, and thou haft not
“ fhewed it unto thy fervant who fhould
“ fit on the throne of my lord the king
“ after him?

“ Then king David answered and faid,
“ Call me Bath-sheba : and ſhe came into
“ the king’s preſence, and ſtood before
“ the king. And the king ſware, and
“ faid, As the LORD liveth, that hath re-
“ deemed my ſoul out of all diſtreſs, even
“ as I ſware unto thee by the LORD God
“ of Iſrael, ſaying, Affuredly Solomon thy
“ ſon ſhall reign after me, and he ſhall
“ fit upon my throne in my ſtead ; even
“ ſo will I certainly do this day. Then
“ Bath-sheba bowed with her face to the
“ earth, and did reverence to the king,
“ and faid, Let my lord king David live
“ for ever.

“ And king David faid, Call me Zadok
“ the prieft, and Nathan the prophet, and
“ Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada. And they
“ came

“ came before the king. The king also
 “ said unto them, Take with you the ser-
 “ vants of your lord, and cause Solomon
 “ my son to ride upon mine own mule,
 “ and bring him down to Gihon. And
 “ let Zadok the priest, and Nathan the
 “ prophet, anoint him there king over Is-
 “ rael: and blow ye with the trumpet,
 “ and say, God save king Solomon.
 “ Then ye shall come up after him, that
 “ he may come and sit upon my throne;
 “ for he shall be king in my stead: and I
 “ have appointed him to be ruler over Is-
 “ rael, and over Judah. And Benaiah
 “ the son of Jehoiada answered the king,
 “ and said, Amen: the LORD God of my
 “ lord the king say so too. As the LORD
 “ hath been with my lord the king, even
 “ so be he with Solomon, and make his
 “ throne greater than the throne of my
 “ lord king David. So Zadok the priest,
 “ and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah
 “ the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites
 “ and the Pelethites, went down, and
 “ caused Solomon to ride upon king Da-
 “ vid’s mule, and brought him to Gihon.
 “ And Zadok the priest took an horn of
 “ oyl out of the tabernacle, and anointed
 “ Solomon:

“ Solomon : and they blew the trumpet,
“ and all the people said, God save king
“ Solomon. And all the people came up
“ after him, and the people piped with
“ pipes, and rejoyced with great joy, so
“ that the earth rent with the sound of
“ them.

“ And Adonijah, and all the guests that
“ were with him, heard it, as they had
“ made an end of eating : and when Joab
“ heard the sound of the trumpet, he
“ said, Wherefore is this noise of the city,
“ being in an uprore ? And while he yet
“ spake, behold, Jonathan the son of A-
“ biathar the priest came, and Adonijah
“ said unto him, Come in, for thou art a
“ valiant man, and bringest good tidings.
“ And Jonathan answered and said to A-
“ donijah, Verily our lord king David
“ hath made Solomon king. And the
“ king has sent with him Zadok the priest,
“ and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah
“ the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites,
“ and the Pelethites, and they have cau-
“ sed him to ride upon the king’s mule.
“ And Zadok the priest, and Nathan the
“ prophet have anointed him king in Gi-
“ hon : and they are come up from thence
“ rejoycing,

“ rejoycing, so that the city rang again :
 “ this is the noise that ye have heard.
 “ And also Solomon sitteth on the throne
 “ of the kingdom. And moreover the
 “ king’s servants came to bless our lord
 “ king David, saying, God make the
 “ name of Solomon better than thy name,
 “ and make his throne greater than thy
 “ throne : and the king bowed himself
 “ upon the bed. And also thus said the
 “ king, Blessed be the LORD God of Is-
 “ rael, which hath given one to sit on my
 “ throne this day, mine eyes even seeing
 “ it. And all the guests that were with
 “ Adonijah were afraid, and rose up, and
 “ went every man his way (a).”

In the example here given are found frequent repetitions ; not however by the same person, but by different persons who have occasion in the course of the incidents to say the same things ; which is natural in the dramatic mode, where things are represented precisely as they were transacted. In that view, Homer’s repetitions are a beauty, not a blemish ; for they are confined to the dramatic part, and never occur in the narrative. In the

(a) 1 Kings, i. 11. — 49.

24th chapter of Genesis, there is a repetition precisely in the manner of Homer.

But the dramatic mode of composition, however pleasing, is tedious and intolerable in a long history. In the progress of society new appetites and new passions arise; men come to be involved with each other in various connections; incidents and events multiply, and history becomes intricate by an endless variety of circumstances. Dialogue accordingly is more sparingly used, and in history plain narration is mixed with it. Narration is as it were the ground-work, and dialogue is raised upon it, like flowers in embroidery. Homer is admitted by all to be the great master in that mode of composition. Nothing can be more perfect in that respect than the *Iliad*. The *Odyssæy* is far inferior; and to guard myself against the censure of the undistinguishing admirers of Homer, a tribe extremely formidable, I call to my aid a celebrated critic, whose superior taste and judgement never was disputed. “The *Odyssæy*,” says Longinus, “shows how natural it is for a writer
“ of a great genius, in his declining age,
“ to sink down to fabulous narration; for
VOL. I. I i “ that

“ that Homer composed the Odyſſey after
 “ the Iliad, is evident from many circum-
 “ ſtances. As the Iliad was composed
 “ while his genius was in its greateſt vi-
 “ gour, the ſtructure of that work is dra-
 “ matic and full of action ; the Odyſſey,
 “ on the contrary, is moſtly employ’d in
 “ narration, proceeding from the cold-
 “ neſs of old age. In that later compoſi-
 “ tion, Homer may be compared to the
 “ ſetting ſun, which has ſtill the ſame
 “ greatneſs, but not the ſame ardor or
 “ force. We ſee not in the Odyſſey that
 “ ſublime of the Iliad which conſtantly
 “ proceeds in the ſame animated tone,
 “ that ſtrong tide of motions and paſſions
 “ flowing ſucceſſively like waves in a
 “ ſtorm. But Homer, like the ocean, is
 “ great, even when he ebbs, and loſes
 “ himſelf in narration and incredible fic-
 “ tions ; witneſs his deſcription of tem-
 “ peſts, the adventures of Ulyſſes with
 “ Polyphemus the Cyclops, and many o-
 “ thers *.”

The

* The *Pilgrim's Progreſs* and *Robiſon Cruſoe*,
 great favourites of the vulgar, are composed in a
 ſtyle enlivened like that of Homer by a proper mix-
 ture

The narrative mode came in time so to prevail, that in a long chain of history, the writer commonly leaves off dialogue altogether. Early writers of that kind appear to have had very little judgement in distinguishing capital facts from minute circumstances, such as can be supply'd by the reader without being mentioned. The history of the Trojan war by Dares Phrygius is a curious instance of that cold and creeping manner of composition. Take the following passage. Hercules having made a descent upon Troy, slew King Laomedon, and made a present of Hesione, the King's daughter, to Telamon his companion. Priamus, who succeeded to the kingdom of Troy upon the death of his father Laomedon, sent Antenor to demand his sister Hesione. Our author proceeds in the following manner. "Antenor, as
 "commanded by Priamus, took shipping,
 "and sailed to Magnesia, where Peleus re-
 "sided. Peleus entertained him hospita-
 "bly three days, and the fourth day de-

ture of the dramatic and narrative; and upon that account chiefly have been translated into several European languages.

“ manded whence he came. Antenor said,
 “ that he was ordered by Priamus to de-
 “ mand from the Greeks, that they should
 “ restore Hefione. When Peleus heard
 “ this he was angry, because it concerned
 “ his family, Telamon being his brother ;
 “ and ordered the ambassador to depart.
 “ Antenor, without delay, retired to his
 “ ship, and sailed to Salamis, where Tela-
 “ mon resided, and demanded of him, that
 “ he should restore Hefione to her brother
 “ Priamus ; as it was unjust to detain so
 “ long in servitude a young woman of royal
 “ birth. Telamon answered, that he had
 “ done nothing to Priamus ; and that he
 “ would not restore what he had received
 “ as a reward for his valour ; and order-
 “ ed Antenor to leave the island. Ante-
 “ nor went to Achaia ; and sailing from
 “ thence to Castor and Pollux, demanded
 “ of them to satisfy Priamus, by restoring
 “ to him his sister Hefione. Castor and
 “ Pollux denied that they had done any
 “ injury to Priamus, but that Laomedon
 “ had first injured them ; ordering Ante-
 “ nor to depart. From thence he sailed to
 “ Nestor in Pylus, telling him the cause
 “ of his coming ; which when Nestor
 “ heard,

“ heard, he begun to exclaim, how Antenor durst set his foot in Greece, seeing the Greeks were first injured by the Phrygians. When Antenor found that he had obtained nothing, and that Priamus was contumeliously treated, he went on shipboard, and returned home.”

The Roman histories before the time of Cicero are chronicles merely. Cato, Fabius Pictor, and Piso, confined themselves to naked facts (*a*). In the *Augustæ Historiæ scriptores* we find nothing but a jejune narrative of facts, commonly very little interesting, concerning a degenerate people, without a single incident that can rouse the imagination, or exercise the judgement. The monkish histories are all of them composed in the same manner *.

* Euripides, in his *Phœnicians*, introduces Oedipus, under sentence of banishment and blind, calling for his staff, his daughter Antigone putting it in his hand, and directing every step, to keep him from stumbling. Such minute circumstances, like what are frequent in Richardson's novels, tend indeed to make the reader conceive himself to be a spectator (*b*): but whether that advantage be not more than overbalanced by the languor of a creeping narrative, may be justly doubted.

(*a*) Cicero *De oratore*, lib. 2. N° 5.

(*b*) See *Elements of Criticism*, ch. 2. part 1. sect. 7.

The dry narrative manner being very little interesting or agreeable, a taste for embellishment prompted some writers to be copious and verbose. Saxo Grammaticus, who in the 12th century composed in Latin a history of Denmark, surprisngly pure for that early period, is extremely verbose and full of tautologies. Such a style, at any rate unpleasant, is intolerable in a modern tongue, before it is enriched with a stock of phrases, for expressing aptly the great variety of incidents that enter into history. Take the following example out of an endless number. Henry VII. of England, having the young Queen of Naples in view for a wife, deputed three men in character of ambassadors, to visit her, *and to answer certain questions contained in curious and exquisite instructions for taking a survey of her person, complexion, &c.* as expressed by Bacon in his life of that prince. One of the instructions was, to procure a picture of the Queen; which one would think could not require many words; yet behold the instruction itself. “The King’s
 “said servants shall also, at their comyng
 “to the parties of Spayne, diligently en-
 “quere for some conyng paynter having
 “good

“ good experience in making and paynt-
“ ing of visages and portretures, and
“ fuche oon they shall take with them to
“ the place where the said Quins make
“ their abode, to the intent that the said
“ paynter maye draw a picture of the vi-
“ sage and semblance of the said young
“ Quine, as like unto her as it can or may
“ be conveniently doon, which picture
“ and image they shall substantially note,
“ and marke in every pounte and circum-
“ stance, soo that it agree in similitude
“ and likenesse as near as it may possible to
“ the veray visage, countenance, and sem-
“ blance of the said Quine; and in case
“ they may perceyve that the paynter, at
“ the furst or second making thereof,
“ hath not made the same perfeite to her
“ similytude and likenesse, or that he hath
“ omitted any feture or circumstance, ei-
“ ther in colours, or other proporcions of
“ the said visage, then they shall cause the
“ same paynter, or some other the most
“ conyng paynter that they can gete, soo
“ oftentimes to renewe and reforme the
“ same picture, till it be made perfeite,
“ and agreeable in every behalfe, with
“ the very image and visage of the said
“ Quine.”

“ Quine *.” After this specimen so much approved by his Lordship, one will not be surpris’d at the flatness of the historical style during that period. By that flatness of style Lord Bacon’s history of Henry VII. sinks below the gravity and dignity of history ; particularly in his similes, metaphors, and allusions, no less distant than flat. Of Perkin Warbeck and his followers he says, “ that they were
 “ now like sand without lime, ill bound
 “ together.” Again, “ But Perkin, advised to keep his fire, which hitherto
 “ burned as it were upon green wood, alive with continual blowing, failed again into Ireland.” Again, “ As in
 “ the tides of people once up, there want

* The following passage, copied from an Edinburgh news-paper, may almost rival this eloquent piece. After observing that the frost was intense, which, says the writer, renders travelling very dangerous either in town or country, he proceeds thus.
 “ We would therefore recommend it to shopkeepers, and those whose houses are close upon the
 “ streets or lanes, to scatter ashes opposite to their
 “ doors, as it may be a means of preventing passengers from falling, which they are in great danger
 “ of doing at present, from the slipperiness of the
 “ streets, where that practice is not followed.”

“ not commonly stirring winds to make
“ them more rough, so this people did
“ light upon two ringleaders or captains.”
Again, speaking of the Cornish insurgents,
and of the causes that inflamed them,
“ But now these bubbles by much stir-
“ ring began to meet, as they used to do
“ on the top of water.” Again, speaking
of Perkin, “ And as it fareth with smoak,
“ that never loseth itself till it be at the
“ highest, he did now before his end raise
“ his stile, intytling himself no more
“ Richard Duke of York, but Richard the
“ Fourth, King of England.” He de-
scends sometimes so low as to play upon
words ; witness the following speech made
for Perkin to the King of Scotland. “ High
“ and mighty King ! your Grace may be
“ pleased benignly to bow your ears to
“ hear the tragedy of a young man that
“ by right ought to hold in his hand the
“ ball of a kingdom, but by fortune is
“ made himself a ball, tossed from misery
“ to misery, and from place to place.”
The following is a strangely forc’d allu-
sion. Talking of Margaret Duchess of
Burgundy, who had patronized Lambert
Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he says, “ It
Vol. I. K k “ is

“ is the strangest thing in the world, that
 “ the Lady Margaret should now, when
 “ other women give over child-bearing,
 “ bring forth two such monsters, being,
 “ at birth, not of nine or ten months, but
 “ of many years. And whereas other
 “ natural mothers bring forth children
 “ weak, and not able to help themselves,
 “ she bringeth forth tall striplings, able,
 “ soon after their coming into the world,
 “ to bid battle to mighty kings.” I should
 not have given so many instances of puerilities in composition, were they not the performance of a great philosopher. Low indeed must have been the taste of that age, when it infected its greatest genius.

The perfection of historical composition, which writers at last attain to after wandering through various imperfect modes, is a relation of interesting facts connected with their motives and consequences. A history of that kind is truly a chain of causes and effects. The history of Thucydides, and still more that of Tacitus, are shining instances of that mode. There was not a book written in France correct in its style before the year 1654 when the *Lettres Provinciales* appeared ;
 nor

nor a book in a good historical style before the history of the conspiracy against Venice by the Abbé St Real.

A language in its original poverty, being deficient in strength and variety, has nothing at command for enforcing a thought but to redouble the expression. Instances are without number in the Old Testament. "And they say, How doth
" God know, and is there knowledge in
" the Most High?" Again, "Thus shalt
" thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell
" to the children of Israel." Again, "I
" will be an enemy unto thine enemies,
" and an adversary unto thine adver-
" saries." Again, "To know wisdom
" and instruction, to perceive the words
" of understanding, to receive the instruc-
" tion of wisdom." "She layeth her
" hands to the spindle, and her hands
" hold the distaff." "Put away from
" thee a froward mouth, and perverse lips
" put far from thee. Let thine eyes look
" right on, and let thine eye-lids look
" straight before thee."

Eloquence was of a later date than the art of literary composition; for till the latter was improved, there were no models

for studying the former. Cicero's oration for Roscius is composed in a style diffuse and highly ornamented; which, says Plutarch, was universally approved, because at that time the style of Asia, introduced into Rome with its luxury, was in high vogue. But Cicero, in a journey to Greece, where he leisurely studied Greek authors, was taught to prune off superfluities, and to purify his style, which he did to a high degree of refinement. He introduced into his native tongue a sweetness, a grace, a majesty, that surprised the world, and even the Romans themselves. Cicero observes with great regret, that if ambition for power had not drawn Julius Cæsar from the bar to command legions, he would have become the most complete orator in the world. So partial are men to the profession in which they excel. Eloquence triumphs in a popular assembly, makes some figure in a court of law composed of many judges; very little where there is but a single judge, and none at all in a despotic government. Eloquence flourished in the republics of Athens and of Rome; and makes some figure at present in a British house of Commons.

In

In Athens eloquence could not but flourish. In an assembly of the people, consisting of 5000 and upward, where every individual was intitled to give his opinion, the certainty of employing the talent of eloquence, was a strong motive with every young man of ambition to study that art. In Britain, very few are certain of obtaining a seat in the house of Commons; and that man must have great perseverance who can bestow years in acquiring an art that he may never have occasion to exercise. The eldest sons of peers have indeed a nearer prospect of a seat in the upper house: but young men of quality are commonly too much addicted to pleasure; and many of them come not to be peers till the fire of youth is spent. I am sorry to add another reason. Eloquence can never make a capital figure, but where patriotism is the ruling passion; for what can it avail among men who are deaf to every motive but what contributes to the interest or ambition of their party? When Demosthenes commenced his career of eloquence, patriotism made a figure in Athens, though it was on the decline. Had that great orator appeared more early, his
authority

authority in Athens would have been supreme *.

The Greek stage has been justly admired among all polite nations. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides in particular are by all critics held to be perfect in their kind, excellent models for imitation, but far above rivalry. If the Greek stage was so early brought to maturity, it is a phenomenon not a little singular in the progress of arts. The Greek tragedy made a rapid progress from Thespis to Sophocles and Euripides, whose compositions are indeed the most complete that ever were exhibited in Greece: but whether they be really such masterpieces as is generally thought, will admit some doubt. The subject is curious: and the candid reader will give attention.

* Eloquence is necessary to those only who request, not to those who command. The Spartans, a bold and firm people, were decisive in their resolutions and of few words; whence the laconic style. Take a modern instance of that style. In the year 1487, causes of discontent arising between O'Neal and Tirconnel, two Irish chieftains, the former wrote to the latter, "Send me tribute, or else." The latter answered, "I owe you none, and if."

No

No human voice could fill the Greek theatre, which was so spacious as to contain several thousands without crowding. A brass pipe was invented to strengthen the voice; but that invention destroy'd the melody of pronounciation, by confining the voice to a harsh monotony. The pipe was not the only unpleasant circumstance: every actor wore a mask; for what end or purpose, is not explained. It may be true, that the expressions of the countenance could not be distinctly seen by those who occupied the back rows; and a mask possibly was thought necessary in order to put all the citizens upon a level. But without prying into the cause, let us only figure an actor with a mask and a pipe. He may represent tolerably a simple incident or plain thought, such as are the materials of an Italian opera; but the voice, countenance, and gestures, are indispensable in expressing refined sentiments, and the more delicate tones of passion.

Where then lies the charm in ancient tragedies that captivated all ranks of men? Greek tragedies are more active than sentimental: they contain many judicious reflections on morals, manners, and upon
life

life in general ; but no sentiments except what are plain and obvious. The subjects are of the simplest kind, such as give rise to the passions of hope, fear, love, hatred, envy, and revenge, in their most ordinary exertions : no intricate nor delicate situation to occasion any singular emotion ; no gradual swelling and subsiding of passion ; and seldom any conflict between different passions. I would not however be understood as meaning to depreciate Greek tragedies. They are indeed wonderful productions of genius, considering that the Greeks at that period were but beginning to emerge from roughness and barbarity into a taste for literature. The compositions of Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, must have been highly relished among a people who had no idea of any thing more perfect : we judge by comparison, and every work is held to be perfect that has no rival. It ought at the same time to be kept in view, that it was not the dialogue which chiefly enchanted the Athenians, nor variety in the passions represented, nor perfection in the actors, but machinery and pompous decoration, accompanied with exquisite music. That

these particulars were carried to the greatest height, we may with certainty conclude from the extravagant sums bestow'd on them : the exhibiting a single tragedy was more expensive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any single campaign.

One would imagine, however, that these compositions are too simple to enchant for ever ; as without variety in action, sentiment, and passion, the stage will not continue long a favourite entertainment : and yet we find not a single improvement attempted after the days of Sophocles and Euripides. This may appear a matter of wonder at first view. But the wonder vanishes upon considering, that the manner of performance prevented absolutely any improvement. A fluctuation of passion and refined sentiments would have made no figure on the Greek stage. Imagine the discording scene between Brutus and Cassius in Julius Cæsar to be there exhibited, or the handkerchief in the Moor of Venice : how slight would be their effect, when pronounced in a mask, and through a pipe ? The workings of nature upon the countenance and the flexions of voice

expressive of various feelings, so deeply affecting in modern representation, would have been entirely lost. If a great genius had arisen with talents for composing a pathetic tragedy in perfection, he would have made no figure in Greece. An edifice must have been erected of a moderate size: new players must have been trained to act without a mask, and to pronounce in their own voice. And after all, there remained a greater miracle still to be wrought, viz. a total reformation of taste in the people of Athens. In one word, the simplicity of the Greek tragedy was suited to the manner of acting; and that manner excluded all improvements.

In composing a tragedy, the Grecian writers seem to have had no aim but to exhibit on the stage some known event as it was supposed to have happened. To give a distinct notion of the event beforehand, a person was introduced on the stage to relate every incident to the audience; and that person sometimes gave a particular account of all that was to happen during the action, which seems to me a very idle thing. This speech was termed *the prologue*. There was no notion of an

an invented fable by which the audience might be kept in suspense during the action. In a word, a Greek tragedy resembles in every respect a history-picture in which is represented some event known to all the world. Thus we see the same subject handled by different tragic writers, each showing his genius in the manner of representing it. Shakespeare's historical plays are all of the same kind. But the entertainment afforded by such a composition is far inferior to what arises from an unknown story, where every incident is new, where the hopes and fears of the audience are kept in constant agitation, and where all is suspended till the final conclusion.

From these premises an inference may with certainty be drawn, that delicacy of taste and feeling were but faintly known among the Greeks, even when they made the greatest figure. Music indeed may be successfully employ'd in a sentimental tragedy; but pomp and splendor avail nothing. A spectator deeply affected is regardless of decoration. I appeal to the reproving scene between Hamlet and the Queen his mother: does any man of taste

give the slightest attention to the beauty of the scenery? It would however be rash to involve in the same censure every Athenian. Do not pantomime-show, rope-dancing, and other such fashionable spectacles, draw multitudes from the deepest tragedies? And yet among us there are persons of taste, not a few, who despise such spectacles as fit only for the mob, persons who never bow'd the knee to Baal. And if there were such persons in Athens, of which we have no reason to doubt, it evinces the superiority of their taste: they had no example of more refined compositions than were exhibited on their stage; we have many.

With respect to comedy, it does not appear, that the Greek comedy surpassed the tragedy, in its progress toward perfection. Horace mentions three stages of Greek comedy. The first was well suited to the rough and coarse manners of the Greeks, when Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes wrote. These authors were not ashamed to represent on the stage real persons, not even disguising their names; of which we have a striking instance in a comedy of Aristophanes, called *The Clouds*, where So-
crates

crates is introduced, and most contemptuously treated. This sort of comedy, sparing neither gods nor men, was restrained by the magistrates of Athens, forbidding persons to be named on the stage. This led writers to do what is imitated by us: the characters and manners of known persons were painted so much to the life, that there could be no mistake. The satire was indeed heightened by this regulation; as every one contributed to the satire by detecting the persons who were meant in the representation. This was termed the *middle comedy*. But as there still remained too great scope for obloquy and licentiousness; a law was made, prohibiting real events or incidents to be introduced upon the stage. This law happily banished satire against individuals, and confined it to manners and customs in general. Obedient to this law are the comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, who flourished about 300 years before the Christian era. And this is termed the *third stage* of Greek comedy. The comedies of Aristophanes, which still remain, err no less against taste than against decency. But we have good ground to believe, that
the

the Greek comedy was considerably refined by Menander and his contemporaries ; tho' we must rely upon collateral evidence, having very few remains of them. Their works however were far from perfection, if we can draw any conjecture from their imitator Plautus, who wrote about a century later. Plautus was a writer of genius ; and it may reasonably be supposed that his copies did not fall greatly short of the originals, in matters at least that can be faithfully copied. At that rate, they must have been extremely defective in their subjects, as well as in the conduct of their pieces ; for he shows very little art in either. With respect to the former, his plots are wondrous simple, very little varied, and very little interesting. The subject of almost every piece is a young man in love with a music-girl, desiring to purchase her from the procurer, and employing a favourite slave to cheat his father out of the price ; and the different ways of accomplishing the cheat, is all the variety we find. In some few of his comedies the story rises to a higher tone, the music-girl being discovered to be the daughter of a free man, which removes every obstruction

tion to a marriage between her and her lover. With respect to the conduct of his pieces, there is a miserable defect of art. Instead of unfolding the subject in the progress of the action, as is done by Terence and by every modern writer, Plautus introduces an actor, for no other purpose but to explain the story to the audience. In one of his comedies, a household-god is so obliging, as not only to unfold the subject, but to relate beforehand every particular that is to be represented, not excepting the catastrophe. Did not Plautus know, that it is pleasant to have our curiosity raised about what will happen next? In the course of the action, persons are frequently introduced who are heard talking to themselves on the open street. One would imagine the Greeks to have been great babblers, when they could not refrain soliloquies even in public. Could Plautus have been so artless in the conduct of his pieces, had a more perfect model been exhibited to him by Menander or the other authors mentioned?

It is observed in Elements of Criticism (*a*), that when a language has re-

(*a*) Chap. 13.

ceived some polish, and the meaning of words is tolerably ascertained, then it is that a play of words comes to be relished. At that period of the Roman language, Plautus wrote. His wit consists almost entirely in a play of words, an eternal jingle, words brought together that have nearly the same sound, with different meanings, and words of different sounds that have the same meaning. As the Greek language had arrived to its perfection many years before, such false wit may be justly ascribed to Plautus himself, not to the Greeks from whom he copied. What was the period of that bastard wit in Greece, I know not; but it appears not to have been antiquated in Homer's days, witness the joke in the *Odyssey*, where Ulysses imposed upon Polyphemus by calling him *Houtis* or *No-man*. Nor seems it to have been antiquated in the days of Euripides, who in his *Cyclops* repeats the same silly joke. The Roman genius soon purged their compositions of such infantine beauties; for in Terence, who wrote about fifty years later than Plautus, there is scarce a vestige of them. The dialogue beside of Terence is more natural and correct, not a word

but

but to the purpose: Plautus is full of tautologies, and digressions very little to the purpose. In a word, considering the slow progress of arts, the Roman theatre, from the time of Plautus to that of Terence, made as rapid a progress as perhaps ever happened in any country. Aristotle defines comedy to be an imitation of light and trivial subjects provoking laughter. The comedies of Plautus correspond accurately to that definition: those of Terence rise to a higher tone.

Beside the disadvantages of the mask and pipe mentioned above, there are two causes that tended to keep back the Greek and Roman comedy from the perfection of its kind. The first is the slow progress of society among these nations, occasioned by separating from the female sex. Where women are excluded from society, it never can arrive at any degree of refinement, not to talk of perfection. In a society of men and women, every one endeavours to shine: every latent talent and every variety of character, are brought to light. To judge from ancient writers, man was a very plain being. Tacitus wrote when society between the sexes was abundantly free; and in no author before him is to

be found any thing beyond the outlines of character. In ancient comedies there are misers, lovers, parasites, procurers ; but the individuals of each class are cast in the same mould. In the *Rudens* of Plautus, it is true, a miser is painted with much anxiety about his hidden treasure, every trifling incident being converted by him into a cause of suspicion ; but he is still the same miser that is painted by others, without any shade or singularity in the character. Homer is the only ancient that deserves to be excepted : his heroes have all courage ; but courage in each is clearly of a distinct kind. Knowledge of an endless variety of character in the human species, acquired from unrestrained society, has enabled the moderns to enrich the theatre with new characters without end. What else is it but defect of knowledge in the dispositions of men, that has confined the comedies of Plautus and Terence, like those of Italy, to a very few characters ?

Nothing is more evident, than the superiority of Terence above Plautus in the art of writing ; and considering that Terence is a later writer, nothing would appear more natural, if they did not copy the

the same originals. It may be owing to genius that Terence excels in purity of language, and propriety of dialogue; but how account for his superiority over Plautus in the construction and conduct of a play. It will not certainly be thought, that Plautus would copy the worst models, leaving the best to future writers. This difficulty has not occurred to any of the commentators, as far as I can recollect. If it be fair to judge of Menander and of his cotemporaries from Plautus their imitator, the talents of Terence must have been great, to excel all of them so much both in the construction and conduct of his plays.

Homer for more than two thousand years has been held the prince of poets. Such perfection in an author who flourished when arts were far short of maturity, would be surprising, would be miraculous. An author of genius (*a*) has endeavoured to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; and I willingly acknowledge, that he has exerted much industry, as well as invention; but in my apprehension with-

(*a*) Essay on the life and writings of Homer.

out giving much satisfaction. The new light that is thrown above upon the Greek theatre, has emboldened me to attempt a criticism on the Iliad, in order to judge whether Homer has so far anticipated the ordinary progress of nature, as in a very early period to have arrived at the perfection of his art.

To form a good writer, genius and judgement must concur. Nature supplies the former; but to the latter instruction and imitation are essential. Shakespeare lived in an age that afforded him little opportunity to cultivate or improve his judgement; and tho' inimitable in every article that depends on genius, there are found many defects in the conduct of his plays, and in other particulars that require judgement ripen'd by experience. Homer lived in a rude age, little advanced in useful arts, and still less in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan war, are described by him as in a progress from the shepherd-state to that of agriculture. In the Iliad, many eminent men are said to be shepherds. Andromaché in particular (*a*)

(*a*) Book 6.

mentions

mentions seven of her brethren, who were slain by Achilles as they tended their father's flocks and herds. In that state, garments of woollen cloth were used ; but the skins of beasts, the original clothing, were still worn as an upper garment: every chief in the Iliad appears in that dress. Such indeed was the simplicity of this early period, that a black ewe was promised by each chief to the man who would undertake to be a spy. In such times, literature could not be far advanced ; and it is a great doubt, whether there was at that time a single poem of the epic kind, for Homer to imitate or improve upon. Homer is undoubtedly a wonderful genius, perhaps the greatest that ever existed : his fire, and the boldness of his conceptions, are inimitable. But in that early age, it would fall little short of a real miracle, to find such ripeness of judgement and correctness of execution, as in modern writers are the fruits of long experience and progressive improvements, during the course of many centuries. Homer is far from being so ripe, or so correct. I shall mention but two or three particulars ; for to dwell upon the imperfections of so illustrious an author,

author, is not pleasant. The first is, that he reduces his heroes to be little better than puppets. Not one of them performs an action of eclat, but with the assistance of some deity: even Achilles himself is every where aided by superior powers. It is Jupiter who inspires Hector with boldness to perform the heroic actions so finely described in the 15th book; and it is Jupiter who, changing sides, fills his heart with dismay. Glaucus, desperately wounded, supplicates Apollo, is miraculously healed, and returns to the battle perfectly sound. Hector, struck to the ground with a stone and at the point of giving up the ghost, is cured by Apollo, and sent back to the battle with redoubled vigour. Homer resembles a sect of Christians, who hold, that a man can do nothing of himself, and that he is merely an instrument which God employs, as we do a spade or a hatchet. Can Homer's admirers be so blind as not to perceive, that this sort of machinery detracts from the dignity of his heroes, renders them less interesting, and less worthy of admiration? Homer however is deservedly such a favourite, that we are prone to admit any
excuse.

excuse. In days of ignorance, people are much addicted to the marvellous. Homer himself, it may be justly supposed, was infected with that weakness; and he certainly knew, that his hearers would be enchanted with every thing wonderful and out of the common course of nature. Another particular is his digressions without end, which draw our attention from the principal subject. I wish some apology could be made for them. Diomedes (*a*), for instance, meeting with Glaucus in the field of battle, and doubting from his majestic air whether he might not be an immortal, enquires who he was, declaring that he would not fight with a god. Glaucus lays hold of this very slight opportunity, in the heat of action, to give a long history of his family. In the mean time the reader's patience is put to a trial, and his ardor cools. Agamemnon (*b*) desiring advice how to resist the Trojans, Diomedes springs forward; but before he offers advice, gives the history of all his progenitors, and of their characters, in a long train. And after all, what was the sage advice that required such a preface?

(*a*) Book 6. (*b*) Book 14.

It

It was, that Agamemnon should exhort the Greeks to fight bravely. At any rate, was Diomedes so little known, as to make it proper to suspend the action at so critical a juncture for a genealogical history? A third particular is an endless number of minute circumstances; especially in the description of battles, where they are the least tolerable. One capital beauty of an epic poem, is the selection of such incidents and circumstances as make a deep impression, keeping out of view every thing low or familiar (*a*). An account of a single battle employs the whole fifth book of the Iliad, and a great part of the sixth: yet in the whole there is no general action; but warriors, whom we never heard of before, killed at a distance with an arrow or a javelin; and every wound described with anatomical accuracy. The whole seventeenth book is employ'd in the contest about the dead body of Patroclus, stuffed with minute circumstances below the dignity of an epic poem: the reader fatigued has nothing to relieve him but the melody of Homer's versification. Gratitude would prompt an apology

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 232. edit. 5.

for an author who affords so much pleasure : Homer had no good models to copy after ; and without good models we cannot expect maturity of judgement. In a word, Homer was a blazing star, and the more to be admired, because he blazed in an obscure age. But that he should in no degree be tainted with the imperfections of such an age, is a wild thought : it is scarce possible, but by supposing him to be more than man.

Particular causes that advance the progress of fine arts, as well as of useful arts, are mentioned in the first part of this Sketch, and to these I refer.

HAVING traced the progress of the fine arts toward maturity in a summary way, the decline of these arts comes next in order. A useful art seldom turns retrograde, because every one has an interest to preserve it in perfection. Fine arts depend on more slender principles than those of utility ; and therefore the judgement formed of them is more fluctuating. The variety of form that is admitted into the fine arts by such fluctuation of judgement, excites artists to indulge their love of no-

velty. Restless man knows no golden mean, but will be attempting innovations without end. Such innovations do well in an art distant from perfection; but they are commonly the cause of degeneracy in arts that are in perfection; for an artist ambitious to excel, aims always to be an original, and cannot submit to be an imitator. This is the plain meaning of a florid passage of Velleius Paterculus (Roman history lib. 1.) “*Naturaque, quod summo studio petatum est, ascendit in summum; difficilisque in perfecto mora est; naturaliterque, quod procedere non potest, recedit.*” Which may pass in a learned language, but will never do in simple English. “The idea,” says Winchleman, “of beauty could not be made more perfect; and those arts that cannot advance farther, become retrograde, by a fatality attending all human things, that if they cannot mount, they must fall down, because stability is not a quality of any created thing.” I shall endeavour to illustrate the cause assigned by me above for decline of the fine arts; beginning with architecture. The Ionic was the favourite order when architecture

itecture was in its height of glory. The Corinthian order came next; which, in attempting greater perfection, has deviated from the true simplicity of nature: and the deviation is still greater in the Composite order (a).

With respect to literary productions, the first essays of the Romans were very imperfect. We may judge of this from Plautus, whose compositions are abundantly rude; tho' much admired by his cotemporaries, being the best that existed at that time in Rome. The exalted spirit of the Romans hurried them on to the grand and beautiful; and literary productions of all kinds were in perfection when Augustus reigned. In attempting still greater perfection, the Roman compositions became a strange jumble of inconsistent parts: they were tumid and pompous, and at the same time full of antitheses, conceit, and tinsel wit. Every thing new in a fine art pleases; and for that reason such compositions were relished. We see not by what gradual steps writers after the time of Augustus deviated

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 206. edit. 5th.

ted from the patterns that were before them ; for no book of any moment from the death of that Emperor is preserved till we come down to Seneca, in whose works nature and simplicity give place to quaint thought and bastard wit. He was a great corrupter of the Roman taste ; and after him nothing was relished, but brilliant strokes of fancy, with very little regard to sentiment : even Virgil and Cicero made no figure in comparison. Lucan has a strain'd elevation of thought and style, very difficult to be supported : he sinks often into puerile reflections ; witness his encomium on the river Po, which, says he, would equal the Danube, had it the same number of tributary streams. Quintilian, a writer of true and classical taste, who was protected and encouraged by Vespasian, attempted to stem the tide of false writing. His rhetoric is composed in an elegant style ; and his observations contain every delicacy of the critical art. At the same time flourished Tacitus, possessing a more extensive knowledge of human nature than any other author ancient or modern, if Shakespeare be not excepted. His style is original, concise, compact,

pect, and comprehensive ; and in what is properly called his history, perfectly correct and beautiful. He has been imitated by several, but never equalled by any. Brutus is said to be the last of the Romans for love of liberty : Quintilian and Tacitus may be said to be the last of the Romans for literary genius. Pliny the younger is no exception : his style is affected, turgid, and full of childish brilliancy. Seneca and Pliny are proper examples of writers who study show more than substance, and who make sense yield to sound.

Whether music be or be not on the decline, seems a doubtful point, as the virtuosi are divided about it. In Greece, celebrated for taste, music was a theatrical entertainment ; and had a dignified office, that of enlivening or enforcing the impressions made on the audience by the action. In that office, harmony being of little use, was little cultivated : nor did the musical instruments at that time known, afford great scope for harmony. Among us, harmony is brought to perfection ; and in modern compositions, it commonly is the chief part. To have melody

lody and harmony both in perfection, they can never be united in the same piece. The heart swoln by a melancholy strain, is averse to the pleasure of harmony ; and when subdued by a delightful strain of whatever kind, it has no leisure for complicated harmony. Rich harmony, on the other hand, ingrossing the whole attention, leaves the heart in a measure vacant *. The Greeks excelled in melody : the moderns excel in harmony. A just comparison between these with respect to their effects on the hearer, will give instruction ; and perhaps may enable us to determine whether music be or be not on the decline.

Nature, kindly to its favourite man, has furnished him with five external senses, not only for supporting animal life, but for procuring to him variety of enjoyments. A towering hill as an object of sight, a blushing rose as an object of smell, a pine-apple as an object of taste, a fine fur as an object of touch, do, all of them,

* Corelli excels in combining harmony with melody. His melody could not be richer without impoverishing his harmony ; nor his harmony richer without impoverishing his melody.

produce a pleasant feeling. With respect to the sense of hearing in particular, a pleasant feeling is raised by concordant sounds, and a feeling of the same kind, by certain sounds in succession; the former termed *harmony*, the latter *melody*. The pleasure of harmony, like that of taste or of smell, vanishes with its object; but melody, piercing to the heart, raises an emotion of gaiety, of melancholy, of pity, of courage, of benevolence, or such like, which subsists after the music ceases, and even swells into a passion where it meets with a proper object (a). An air, sweet and melting, raises an emotion in the tone of love; and readily is elevated to the passion of love on the sight of a beautiful object. An air slow and plaintive, produces an emotion in the tone of pity or grief; which on the appearance of a person in distress, becomes a passion. A lively and animating strain produces an emotion of courage: the hearer exalted to a hero, longs for an opportunity to exert his prowess.

*Spumantemque dari, pecora inter inertia, votis
Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.*

(a) Elements of Criticism, ch. 2. part. 1. sect. 4.

Can

Can harmony produce an effect in any degree similar? The greatest admirer of harmony will not affirm that it can. The emotion raised by harmony has no affinity to passion or sentiment more than the smell of a tuberose or the taste of an ortolan; and it vanishes instantaneously with the concordant sounds that produced it.

Hence it may fairly be concluded, that as far as melody is superior to harmony, as far was Greek music superior to the generality of what is now in practice. Exceptions there are undoubtedly that rival whatever could be performed by the ancients : but they are not many in number : the talent of composing music in the tone of a passion, seems in a great measure to lie dormant. The Italian opera resembles in form the Greek tragedy, from which evidently it is copied ; but very little in substance. In the latter, the dialogue maintains its superior station ; and music, confined to its proper place, has the strongest effect that music can produce. In the former, music usurping the supreme station, commands attention by a storm of sound, leaving the dialogue languid and uninteresting. This unnatural

I

disjunction

disjunction of sound from sense, has introduced a sort of bastard music, termed *recitative*. Suffering the words to pass, tho' abundantly flat and languid *, I object to the execution, an unnatural movement between pronouncing and singing, that cannot be agreeable but to those who have been long accustomed to it. Of one thing I am certain, that graceful pronunciation, whether in the calm narrative tone or in the warm tone of passion, is far more pleasant. What puts the preference of the Greek model far beyond a doubt, is, that the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were for a long course of time the delight of the most refined nation that ever existed: an Italian opera, on the contrary, never runs above a season; and after being once laid aside, is never revived. But this slight and superficial taste for harmony against melody, cannot be lasting: nature may be wrested, but always soon or late resumes its empire. Sentimental music will be seriously cultivated, and restored to the place in the theatre it anciently pos-

* No person will suspect that under this censure is comprehended the celebrated Metastasio.

fessed with dignity and propriety. Then it is that we may hope to rival the Greeks in music as in other arts. Upon the whole, music undoubtedly is much improved with respect to its theory, but with respect to the practical part there appears as little doubt of a woeful degeneracy.

I lay hold of this opportunity to add a small article concerning the history of music, which regard to my native country will not suffer me to omit. We have in Scotland a multitude of songs tender and pathetic, expressive of love in its varieties of hope, fear, success, despondence, and despair. The style of the music is wild and irregular, extremely pleasing to the natives, but little relished by the bulk of those who are accustomed to the regularity of the Italian style. None but men of genius, who follow nature and break loose from the thralldom of custom, esteem that music. It was a favourite of the late Geminiani, whose compositions shew delicacy of taste equal to the superiority of his genius; and it is warmly praised by Alessandro Tassoni, the celebrated author of *Secchia Rapita*. Discourfing of antient and modern music, and quoting from various
 authors

authors the wonderful effects produced by some modern compositions, he subjoins the following passage. “ Noi ancora pos-
 “ siamo connumerar trà nostri, Iacopo Rè
 “ de Scozia, che non pur cose sacre com-
 “ pose in tanto, ma trovò da sè stesso una
 “ nuova musica lamentevole e mesta, dif-
 “ ferente da tutte l’atre. Nel che poi è
 “ stato imitato da Carlo Gesualdo Principe
 “ di Venosa, che in questa nostra età ha
 “ illustrata anch’ egli la musica con nuo-
 “ va mirabili invenzioni (a) *.” The
 king mentioned must be James I. of Scot-
 land, the only one of our kings who seems
 to have had any remarkable taste in the
 fine arts; and the music can be no other
 than the songs mentioned above. These
 are commonly attributed to David Rizzio,

(a) *Penfieri diversi*, lib. 10. cap. 23.

* “ We may reckon among the composers of the
 “ moderns James King of Scotland, who not only
 “ composed sacred songs, but was himself the in-
 “ ventor of a new style of music, plaintive and pa-
 “ thetic, different from all others. In this manner
 “ of composition, he has been imitated in our
 “ times by Carlo Gesualdo Prince of Venosa, who
 “ has illustrated that style of music with new and
 “ wonderful invention.”

because he was an Italian and a musician ; but erroneously, as we now discover from Taffoni. Our James I. was eminent for poetry no less than for music. He is praised for the former by Bishop Leslie, one of our historians, in the following words : “ Patrii carminis gloria nulli secundus.” We have many poems ascribed by tradition to that king ; one in particular, *Christ’s kirk on the green*, is a ludicrous poem, describing low manners with no less propriety than sprightliness.

Another cause that precipitates the downfall of every fine art, is despotism. The reason is obvious ; and there was a dismal example of it in Rome, particularly with regard to eloquence. We learn from a dialogue accounting for the corruption of the Roman eloquence, that in the decline of the art it became fashionable to stuff harangues with impertinent poetical quotations, without any view but ornament merely ; and this also was long fashionable in France. It happened unluckily for the Romans, and for the world, that the fine arts were at their height in Rome, and not much upon the decline in Greece, when despotism put an end to the
republic.

republic. Augustus, it is true, retarded their fall, particularly that of literature ; it being the policy of his reign to hide despotism, and to give his government an air of freedom. His court was a school of urbanity, where people of genius acquired that delicacy of taste, that elevation of sentiment, and that purity of expression, which characterize the writers of his time. He honoured men of learning, admitted them to his table, and was bountiful to them. It would be painful to follow the decline of the fine arts in Rome to their total extirpation. The tyranny of Tiberius and of subsequent emperors, broke at last the elevated and independent spirit of the brave Romans, reduced them to abject slavery, and left not a spark of genius *. The
science

* A singular persecution was carried on by Pope Gregory, most improperly surnamed the Great, against the works of Cicero, Titus Livius, and Cornelius Tacitus, which in every corner of Christendom were publicly burnt ; and from that time there has not been seen a complete copy of any of these authors. This happen'd in the sixth century : so soon had the Romans fallen, from the perfection of taste and knowledge to the most humbling barbarity. Nor was that the only persecution of books
on

science of law is the only exception, as it flourished even in the worst of times : the Roman lawyers were a respectable body, and less the object of jealousy than men of power and extensive land-property. Among the Greeks also, a conquered people, the fine arts decay'd, but not so rapidly as at Rome : the Greeks, farther removed from the seat of government, were less within the reach of a Roman tyrant. During their depression, they were guilty of the most puerile conceits ; witness verses composed in the form of an axe, an egg, wings, and such like. The style of Greek writers in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, is unequal, obscure, stiff, and af-

on the score of religion. Many centuries before, a similar instance happened in China, directed by a foolish emperor. The Alexandrian library was twice consumed by fire, once in the time of Julius Cæsar, and once in the time of the Calif Omar. What a profusion of knowledge was lost past redemption ! And yet, upon the whole, it seems doubtful, whether the moderns have suffered by these events. At what corner of a library shall a man begin where he sees an infinity of books, choice ones too ? He will turn his back to the library and begin at no corner.

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fected. Lucian is the only exception I am acquainted with.

We need scarce look for any other cause but despotism, to account for the decline of statuary and painting in Greece. These arts had arrived at their utmost perfection about the time of Alexander the Great: from that time they declined gradually along with the vigour of a free people; for Greece was now enslaved by the Macedonian power. It may in general be observed, that when a nation becomes stationary in that degree of power and eminence which it acquires from its constitution and situation, the national spirit subsides, and men of talents become rare. It is still worse with a nation that is sunk below its former power and eminence; and worst of all when it is reduced to slavery. Other causes concurred to accelerate the downfall of the arts mentioned. Greece in the days of Alexander was filled with statues of excellent workmanship; and there being little demand for more, the later statuary were reduced to heads and busts. At last the Romans put a total end both to statuary and painting in Greece, by plundering it of its finest pieces; and
the

the Greeks, exposed to the avarice of the conquerors, bestow'd no longer any money on the fine arts.

The decline of the fine arts in Rome, is by a writer of taste and elegance ascribed to a cause different from any above mentioned, a cause equally destructive to manhood and to the fine arts ; and that is opulence, joined with its constant attendants avarice and luxury. It would be doing injustice to that author to quote him in any words but his own, “ Priscis
 “ temporibus, quum adhuc nuda virtus
 “ placeret, vigeant artes ingenuæ ; sum-
 “ mumque certamen inter homines erat,
 “ ne quid profuturum seculis diu lateret.
 “ Itaque, Hercules ! omnium herbarum
 “ succos Democritus expressit : et ne la-
 “ pidum virgultorumque vis lateret, æta-
 “ tem inter experimenta consumpsit. Eu-
 “ doxus quidem in cacumine excelsissimi
 “ montis consenuit, ut astrorum cœlique
 “ motus deprehenderet : et Chrysippus,
 “ ut ad inventionem sufficeret, ter helle-
 “ boro animum deterfit. Verum ut ad
 “ plastas convertar, Lysippum statuæ uni-
 “ us lineamenti inhærentem inopia ex-
 “ tinxit : et Myron, qui penè hominum
 “ animas

“ animas ferarumque ære comprehende-
 “ rat, non invenit heredem. At nos, vi-
 “ no scortisque demersi, ne paratas qui-
 “ dem artes audemus cognoscere; sed ac-
 “ cusatores antiquitatis, vitia tantum do-
 “ cemus, et discimus. Ubi est dialectica?
 “ ubi astronomia? ubi sapientiæ consultif-
 “ sima via? Quis unquam venit in tem-
 “ plum, et votum fecit si ad eloquentiam
 “ pervenisset? quis, si philosophiæ fon-
 “ tem invenisset? Ac ne bonam quidem
 “ mentem, aut bonam valetudinem, pe-
 “ tunt: sed statim, antequam limen capi-
 “ tolii tangunt, alius donum promittit si
 “ propinquum divitem extulerit; alius, si
 “ thesaurum effoderit; alius, si ad tre-
 “ centies H—S. salvus pervenerit. Ipse fe-
 “ natus, recti bonique præceptor, mille
 “ pondo auri capitolio promittere solet:
 “ et ne quis dubitet pecuniam concupif-
 “ cere, Jovem quoque peculio exorat.
 “ Nolito ergo mirari, si pictura defecit,
 “ quum omnibus diis hominibusque for-
 “ mosior videatur massa auri, quam quid-
 “ quid Apelles Phidiasve fecerunt * (a).”

In

(a) Petronius Arbiter.

* “ In ancient times, when naked virtue had her

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P p

“ admirers,

In England, the fine arts are far from such perfection as to suffer by opulence. They are in a progress, it is true, toward maturity ;

“ admirers, the liberal arts were in their highest
 “ vigour ; and there was a generous contest among
 “ men, that nothing of real and permanent advantage should long remain undiscovered. Democritus extracted the juice of every herb and plant,
 “ and lest the virtue of a single stone or twig should
 “ escape him, he consumed a lifetime in experiments. Eudoxus, immersed in the study of astronomy, spent his age upon the top of a mountain. Chrysippus, to stimulate his inventive faculty, thrice purified his genius with hellebore.
 “ To turn to the imitative arts : Lyfippus, while
 “ labouring on the forms of a single statue, perished from want. Myron, whose powerful hand
 “ gave to the brass almost the soul of man, and animals, — at his death found not an heir ! Of us
 “ of modern times what shall we say ? Immersed in
 “ drunkenness and debauchery, we want the spirit
 “ to cultivate those arts which we possess. We inveigh against the manners of antiquity ; we study
 “ vice alone ; and vice is all we teach. Where
 “ now is the art of reasoning ? where astronomy ?
 “ where is the right path of wisdom ? What man
 “ now-a-days is heard in our temples to make a
 “ vow for the attainment of eloquence, or for the
 “ discovery of the fountain of true philosophy ?
 “ Nor do we even pray for health of body, or a
 “ sound understanding. One, while he has scarce
 “ entered

turity ; but, gardening alone excepted, they proceed with a very slow pace.

There is a particular cause that never fails to undermine a fine art in a country where it is brought to perfection, abstracting from every one of the causes above mentioned. In the first part of the present sketch it is remarked, that nothing is more fatal to an art or to a science, than a performance so much superior to all of the kind, as to extinguish emulation. This remark is exemplified in the great Newton, who, having surpassed all the ancients, has not left to his countrymen even the faintest hope of rivalling him ; and to that cause is attributed the visible decline of

“ entered the porch of the temple, devotes a gift in
“ the event of the death of a rich relation ; another
“ prays for the discovery of a treasure ; a third for
“ a ministerial fortune. The senate itself, the exemplary preceptor of what is good and laudable,
“ has promised a thousand pounds of gold to the
“ capitol ; and, to remove all reproach from the
“ crime of avarice, has offered a bribe to Jupiter
“ himself. How should we wonder that the art of
“ painting has declined, when, in the eyes both of
“ the gods and men, there is more beauty in a mass
“ of gold, than in all the works of Phidias and Apelles ? ”

mathematical knowledge in Great Britain. The same cause would have been fatal to the arts of statuary and painting among the Greeks, even tho' they had continued a free people. The decay of painting in modern Italy, is probably owing to the same cause : Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, &c. are lofty oaks that keep down young plants in their neighbourhood, and intercept from them the sunshine of emulation. Had the art of painting made a slower progress in Italy, it might have there continued in vigour to this day. Velleius Paterculus says judiciously, “ Ut
 “ primo ad consequendos quos priores
 “ ducimus accendimur ; ita, ubi aut præ-
 “ teriri aut æquari eos posse desperavimus,
 “ studium cum spe fenescit ; et quod ad-
 “ sequi non potest, sequi definit : præte-
 “ ritoque eo in quo eminere non possumus,
 “ aliquid in quo nitamur conquirimus *.”

* “ As at first we are excited to emulate those
 “ superior models, so when once we have lost the
 “ hope of excelling, or even of equalling them,
 “ our ambition fails us with our hopes : we cease
 “ to pursue what we cannot attain, and neglecting
 “ that study in which we are debarred from arri-
 “ ving at excellence, we search for a different field
 “ of emulation.”

The

The decline of an art or science proceeding from the foregoing cause, is the most rapid where a strict comparison can be instituted between the works of different masters. The superiority of Newton above every other mathematician, can be ascertained with precision; and hence the sudden decline of that science in Great Britain. In Italy, a talent for painting continued many years in vigour; because no painter appeared with such superiority of genius, as to carry perfection into every branch of the art. As one surpassed in design, one in colours, one in graceful attitudes, there was still scope for emulation. But when in the progress of the art there was not a single perfection but had been seized by one or other master; from that period the art began to languish. Architecture continued longer in vigour than painting, because the principles of comparison in the former are less precise than in the latter. The artist who could not rival his predecessors in an established mode, sought out a new mode for himself; which, tho' perhaps less elegant or perfect, was for a time supported by novelty.

Corruption of the Latin tongue makes

a proper appendix to the decline of the fine arts in Rome. That the Latin tongue did not long continue in purity after the Emperor Augustus, is certain ; and all writers agree, that the cause of its early corruption, was a continual influx into Rome of men, to whom the Latin was a foreign language. The reason is plausible ; but whether solid may be doubted. In all countries, there are provincial dialects ; which however tend not to corrupt the language of the capital, because they are carefully avoided by all who pretend to speak properly ; and accordingly the multitude of provincials who flock to Paris and to London produce no effect on the language. The same probably was the case in old Rome, especially with respect to strangers whose native tongue was totally different from that of Rome : their imperfect manner of speaking Latin might be excused, but certainly was not imitated. Slaves in Rome had little conversation with their masters, except in receiving orders or reproof ; which had no tendency to vitiate the Latin tongue. The corruption of that tongue, and at last its death and burial as a living language,

were

were the result of two combined causes ; of which the early prevalence of the Greek language in Rome is the first. Latin was native to the Romans only, and to the inhabitants of Latium. The languages of the rest of Italy were numerous : the Messapian was the mother-tongue in Apulia, the Hetruscan in Tuscany and Umbria, the Greek in Magna Græcia, the Celtic in Lombardy and Liguria, &c. &c. Latin had arrived at its purity not many years before the reign of Augustus ; and had not taken deep root in those parts of Italy where it was not the mother-tongue when Greek came to be the fashionable language among people of rank, as French is in Europe at present. Greek, the store-house of learning, prevailed in Rome even in Cicero's time ; of which he himself bears testimony in his oration for the poet Archias : “ Græca leguntur in omnibus
“ fere gentibus : Latina suis finibus, exi-
“ guis sane, continentur.” And for that reason Atticus is warmly solicited by him to write the history of his consulate in Greek. Thus Latin, jostled by Greek out of its place, was left to inferiors ; and probably would have sunk to utter oblivion, even
though

though the republic had continued in vigour. But the chief cause was the despotism of the Roman government, which proved the destruction of the fine arts, and of literature in particular. In a country of so many different languages, the Latin tongue could not be preserved in purity, but by constant perusal of Roman classics: but these were left to rot in libraries, a dark cloud of ignorance having overspread the whole empire. Every person carelessly spoke the language acquired in the nursery; and people of different tongues being mixed under one government, without a common standard, fell gradually into a sort of mixed language, which every one made a shift to understand. The irruption of many barbarous nations into Italy, several of whom settled there, added to the jargon. And that jargon, composed of many heterogeneous parts, was in process of time purified to the tongue that is now native to all the inhabitants of Italy.

In a history of the Latin tongue, it ought not to be overlooked, that it continued long in purity among the Roman lawyers. The science of law was in Rome

more cultivated than in any other country. The books written upon that science in Latin were numerous; and, being highly regarded, were the constant study of every man who aspired to be an eminent lawyer. Neither could such men have any bias to the Greek tongue, as law was little cultivated in Greece. Thus it happened, that the Latin tongue, as far as concerns law, was preserved in purity, even to the time of the Emperor Justinian.

Greek was preserved in purity much longer than Latin. The same language was spoken through all Greece, with some slight varieties in dialect. It was brought to great perfection and firmly rooted during the prosperous days of Greece. Its classics were numerous, and were studied by every person who pretended to literature *. Now tho' the free and manly spirit of the Greeks yielded to Roman despotism, yet while any appetite for literature remained, their invaluable classics were a standard, which preserved the language in purity. But ignorance at length became

* There still remain about three thousand Greek books: of Latin books not above sixty.

universal; and the Greek classics ceased to be a standard, being buried in libraries, as the Roman classics had been for centuries. In that state, the Greek tongue could not fail to degenerate among an ignorant and servile people, who had no longer any ambition to act well, write well, or speak well. And yet after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond a rival, has suffered less alteration than any other ever did in similar circumstances; one cause of which is, that to this day the Greeks live separate from their masters the Turks, and have little commerce with them.

From the fate of the Latin tongue, an observation is drawn by many writers, that all languages are in a continual flux, changing from age to age without end. And such as are fond of fame, deplore it as a heavy misfortune, that the language in which they write will soon become obsolete and unintelligible. But it is a common error in reasoning, to found a general conclusion upon a single fact. In its progress toward perfection, a language is continually improving, and therefore continually changing. But supposing a language to have acquired its utmost perfection,

tion, I see nothing that should necessarily occasion any change: on the contrary, the classical books in that language become a standard for writing and speaking, to which every man of taste and figure conforms himself. Such was the case of the Greek tongue, till the Greeks were brutified by despotism. The Italian has continued in perfection more than three centuries, and the French more than one. The Arabic has continued without change more than a thousand years: there is no book in that language held to be in a style more pure or perfect than the Koran *. The English language has not yet acquired all the purity it is susceptible of; but when there is no place for further improvements, there seems little doubt of its becoming stationary, like the languages now mentioned. I bar always such a revolution as

* I am far from thinking, that the language of the Arabians, an illiterate people in the days of their prophet Mahomet, was at that time carried to such purity and perfection as not to be susceptible of improvement. The fixing that language was undoubtedly owing to the Koran, which was held the word of God delivered to Mahomet by the angel Gabriel, and consequently was piously judged to be the standard of perfection.

eradicates knowledge, and reduces a people to a state of barbarity. In an event so dismal, the destruction of classical books and of a pure language, is not the greatest calamity: they will be little regretted in the universal wreck. In the mean time, to a writer of genius in a polished nation, it cannot but be a charming prospect, that his works will stand and fall with his country. To make such a writer exert his talents for purifying his mother-tongue, and for adding to the number and reputation of its classics, what nobler excitement, than the certainty of being transmitted to posterity, and welcomed by every person of taste through all ages!

As before the invention of printing, writers could have nothing in view but reputation and praise, they endeavoured to give the utmost perfection to their compositions. They at the same time studied brevity, in order that their works might be diffused through many hands; for the expence of transcribing great volumes, could not be afforded by every reader. The art of printing has made a great revolution: the opportunity it furnishes to
multiply

multiply copies has degraded writing to be a lucrative employment. Authors now study to swell their works, in order to raise the price; and being in a hurry for money, they neglect the precept of Horace, *Nonum prematur in annum*. Take for example the natural history of Aldrovandus, in many folio volumes. After filling his common-place book with passages from every author ancient and modern, to the purpose and not to the purpose; he sits down to compose, bent to transfuse into his book every article thus painfully collected. For example, when he introduces the ox, the cock, or any other animal; far from confining himself to its natural history, he omits nothing that has been said of it in books where it has been occasionally introduced, not even excepting tales for amusing children: he mentions all the superstitious notions concerning it, every poetical comparison drawn from it, the use it has served in hieroglyphics and in coats-armorial; in a word, all the histories and all the fables in which it has been named. Take another instance from a German or Dutch chronologer, whose name has escaped me, and which I give in

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in a translation from the Latin, to prevent the bias that one has for a learned language. “ Samson was the same with the
 “ Theban Hercules ; which appears from
 “ the actions attributed to each of them,
 “ especially from the following, That Her-
 “ cules, unarmed, is said to have suffoca-
 “ ted the Nemean lion with a squeeze of
 “ his arms : Samson unarmed did the
 “ same, by tearing a lion to pieces ; and
 “ Josephus says, that he did not tear the
 “ lion, but put out his breath with a
 “ squeeze ; which could be done, and was
 “ done by Scutilius the wrestler, as re-
 “ ported by Suidas. David also, unarm-
 “ ed, tore to pieces a lion, 1 Samuel,
 “ chap. 17. ; and Benaiah the son of Je-
 “ hoiada also slew a lion, 2 Sam. chap. 23.
 “ ver. 20. Moreover we read, that Sam-
 “ son having caught three hundred foxes,
 “ tied lighted firebrands to their tails, and
 “ drove them into the standing corn of
 “ the Philistines, by which both the flocks
 “ and standing corn, with the vineyards
 “ and olives, were burnt up. Many
 “ think it incredible, that three hundred
 “ foxes should be caught by one man ; as
 “ the fox, being the most cunning of all
 “ animals,

“ animals, would not suffer itself to be
“ easily taken. Accordingly Oppian, a
“ Greek poet who writes upon hunting,
“ asserts, that no fox will suffer itself to
“ be taken in a gin or a net; tho’ we are
“ taught the contrary by Martial, lib. 10.
“ epig. 37.

“ *Hic olidum clamofus ages in retia vulpem.*

“ In India, eagles, hawks, and ravens, are
“ taught to hunt foxes, as we are inform-
“ ed by Olianus, Var. hist. lib. 9. cap. 26.
“ They are also caught by traps and
“ snares, and in covered pits, as wolves
“ are, and other large animals. Nor is it
“ wonderful that such a multitude of
“ foxes were caught by Samfon, consider-
“ ing that Palestine abounded with foxes.
“ He had hunters without number at
“ command; and he was not confined in
“ time. The fame of that exploit was
“ spread far and near. Even among the
“ Romans there were vestiges of it, as ap-
“ pears from Ovid, Fast. lib. 9. ver. 681.
“ In one Roman festival, armed foxes
“ were let loose in the circus; which O-
“ vid, in the place quoted, says, was done
“ in memory of the Carfiolan fox, which,
“ having

“ having destroy’d many hens belonging
 “ to a country-woman, was caught by
 “ her, and punished as follows. She
 “ wrapped up the fox in hay, which she
 “ set fire to; and the fox being let go, fled
 “ through the standing corn, and set it
 “ on fire. There can be no doubt but
 “ that this festival was a vestige of Sam-
 “ son’s foxes, not only from congruity of
 “ circumstances, but from the time of ce-
 “ lebration, which was the month of A-
 “ pril, the time of harvest in Palestine.
 “ See more about foxes in Burman’s
 “ works.” Not to mention the ridiculous
 arguments of this writer to prove Samson
 to be the same with the Theban Hercules,
 nor the childish wanderings from that sub-
 ject; he has totally overlooked the chief
 difficulties. However well fixed the fire-
 brands might be, it is not easily concei-
 vable, that the foxes, who would natural-
 ly fly to their lurking-holes, could much
 injure the corn, or the olive-trees. And
 it is as little conceivable, what should have
 moved Samson to employ foxes, when, by
 our author’s supposition, he had men at
 command, much better qualified than
 foxes for committing waste. This author

would have saved himself much idle labour had he embraced a very probable opinion, that if the translation be not erroneous, the original text must be corrupted. But enough, and more than enough, of these writers. Maturity of taste has banished such absurdities; and at present, happily, books are less bulky, and more to the purpose, than formerly.

It is observed above (a), that in a country thinly peopled, where the same person must for bread undertake different employments, the people are knowing and conversable; but stupid and ignorant in a populous country where industry and manufactures abound. That observation holds not with respect to the fine arts. It requires so much genius to copy even a single figure, whether in painting or in sculpture, as to prevent the operator from degenerating into a brute. The great exertion of genius, as well as of invention, required in grouping figures, and in imitating human actions, tends to invigorate these faculties with respect to every subject, and of course to form a man of parts.

(a) First section of the present Sketch.

S K E T C H V.

Manners.

SOME persons have a peculiar air, a peculiar mode of speaking or of acting, which, in opposition to the manners of the generality, are termed *their manners*. Such peculiarities in a whole nation, by which it differs from other nations or from itself at different periods, are termed *the manners of that nation*. Manners therefore signify a mode of behaviour peculiar to a certain person, or to a certain nation. The term is not applied to mankind in general; except perhaps in contradistinction to other beings.

Manners are distinguished from morals; but in what respect has not been clearly stated. Do not the same actions come under both? Certainly; but in different respects: an action considered as right or wrong, belongs to morals; considered as characteristical of a person or of a people, it belongs to manners.

Manners peculiar to certain tribes and
to

to certain governments, fall under other branches of this work. The intention of the present sketch is, to trace out the manners of nations, in the different stages of their progress, from infancy to maturity. I am far from regretting, that manners produced by climate, by soil, and by other permanent causes, fall not under my plan: I should indeed make a sorry figure upon a subject, that has been acutely discussed by the greatest genius of the present age (a).

I begin with external appearance, being the first thing that draws attention. The human countenance and gestures have a greater variety of expressions than those of any other animal: and some persons differ widely from the generality in these expressions, so as to be known by their manner of walking, or even by so slight an action as that of putting on or taking off a hat: some men are known even by the sound of their feet in walking. Whole nations are distinguishable by such peculiarities. And yet there is less variety in looks and gestures, than the different tones of mind would produce, were men

(a) Montesquieu.

left to the impulses of pure nature : man, an imitative animal, is prone to copy others ; and by imitation, external behaviour is nearly uniform among those who study to be agreeable ; witness people of fashion in France. I rest upon these outlines : to enter fully into the subject would be an endless work ; disproportioned at any rate to the narrowness of my plan.

Dress must not be omitted, because it enters also into external appearance. Providence hath clothed all animals that are unable to clothe themselves. Man can clothe himself ; and he is endowed beside with an appetite for dress, no less natural than an appetite for food. That appetite is proportioned in degree to its use : in cold climates it is vigorous ; in hot climates, faint. Savages must go naked till they learn to cover themselves ; and they soon learn where covering is necessary. The Patagonians, who go naked in a bitter-cold climate, must be woefully stupid. And the Picts, a Scotch tribe, who, it is said, continued naked down to the time of Severus, did not probably much surpass the Patagonians in the talent of invention.

Modesty

Modesty is another cause for clothing : few savages expose the whole of the body. It gives no high idea of Grecian modesty, that at the Olympic games people wrestled and run races stark naked.

There is a third cause for clothing, which is, the pleasure it affords. A fine woman, seen naked once in her life, is made a desirable object by novelty. But let her go naked for a month ; how much more charming will she appear, when dressed with propriety and elegance ! Cloathing is so essential to health, that to be less agreeable than nakedness would argue an incongruity in our nature. Savages probably at first thought of cloathing as a protection only against the weather ; but they soon discovered a beauty in dress : men led the way, and women followed. Such savages as go naked, paint their bodies ; excited by the same fondness for ornament, that our women shew in their party-coloured garments. Among the Jews, the men wore ear-rings as well as the women (*a*). When Media was governed by its own kings, the men were sumptuous in dress : they wore loose robes,

(*a*) *Exod.* xxxiii. 2.

floating in the air; had long hair covered with a rich bonnet, bracelets, chains of gold, and precious stones: they painted their faces, and mixed artificial hair with that of nature. As authors are silent about the women, they probably made no figure in that kingdom, being shut up, as at present, in seraglios. Very different was the case of Athenian ladies, after polygamy was banished from Greece. They consumed the whole morning at the toilette; employing paint, and every drug for cleaning and whitening the skin: they laid red even upon their lips, and took great care of their teeth: their hair, made up in buckles with a hot iron, was perfumed and spread upon the shoulders: their dress was elegant, and artfully contrived to set off a fine shape. Such is the influence of appetite for dress: vanity could not be the sole motive, as married ladies were never seen in public *. We learn from St Gregory, that women in his

* Young women in Athens appeared frequently in public, but always by themselves. In festivals, sacrifices, &c. they made part of the show, crowned with flowers, chanting hymns, and dancing in knots.

time dressed the head extremely high; environing it with many tresses of false hair, disposed in knots and buckles, so as to resemble a regular fortification. Josephus reports, that the Jewish ladies powdered their hair with gold dust; a fashion that was carried from Asia to Rome. The first writer who mentions white powder for the hair, the same we use at present, is L'Etoile, in his journal for the year 1593. He relates, that nuns walked the streets of Paris curled and powdered. That fashion spread by degrees through Europe. For many years after the civil wars in France, it was a fashion in Paris to wear boots and spurs with a long sword: a gentleman was not in full dress without these accoutrements. The sword continues an article of dress, tho' it distinguishes not a gentleman from his valet. To show that a taste for dress and ornament is deeply rooted in human nature, savages display that taste upon the body, having no covering to display it upon. Seldom is a child left to nature: it is deprived of a testicle, a finger, a tooth; or its skin is engraved with figures.

Cloathing hath no slight influence, even
with

with respect to morals. I venture to affirm, at the hazard of being thought paradoxical, that nakedness is more friendly to chastity than covering. Adultery is unknown among savages, even in hot climates where they have scarce any covering. Dress gives play to the imagination; which pictures to itself many secret beauties, that vanish when rendered familiar by sight: if a lady accidentally discover half a leg, imagination is instantly inflamed; tho' an actress, appearing in breeches, is beheld with indifference: a naked Venus makes not such an impression, as when a garter only is discovered.

Cleanness is an article in external appearance. Whether cleanliness be inherent in the nature of man, or only a refinement of polished nations, may at first sight appear doubtful. What pleads for the former is, that cleanness is remarkable in several nations, that have made little progress in the arts of life. The savages of the Caribbee islands, once a numerous tribe, were remarked by writers as neat and cleanly. In the island Otaheite, or King George's island, both sexes are cleanly: they bathe frequently, never eat nor
I
drink

drink without washing before and after, and their garments as well as their persons are kept free of spot or blemish. Ammianus Marcellinus, describing the Gauls, says, that they were cleanly; and that even the poorest women were never seen with dirty garments. The negroes, particularly those of Ardrah in the slave-coast, have a scrupulous regard to cleanness. They wash morning and evening, and perfume themselves with aromatic herbs. In the city of Benin, women are employ'd to keep the streets clean; and in that respect they are not outdone by the Dutch. In Corea, people mourn three years for the death of their parents; during which time they never wash. Dirtiness must appear dismal to that people, as to us *. But instances are no less numerous that favour the other side of the question. Ammianus Marcellinus reports of the Huns, that they wore a coat till it fell to pieces with dirt and rottenness. Plan Carpin, who visited the Tartars anno 1246, says,

* Many animals are remarkable for cleanness. Beavers are so, and so are cats. This must be natural. Tho' a taste for cleanness is not remarkable in dogs, yet like men they learn to be cleanly.

“ That they never wash face nor hands ;
 “ that they never clean a dish, a pot, nor
 “ a garment ; that, like swine, they make
 “ food of every thing, not excepting the
 “ vermin that crawl on them.” The present people of Kamskatka answer to that description in every article. The nastiness of North-American savages, in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments, passes all conception. As they never change their garments till they fall to rags, nor ever think of washing them, they are eat up with vermin. The Esquimaux and many other tribes are equally nasty.

As cleanness requires attention and industry, the cleanness of some savages must be the work of nature ; and the dirtiness of others must proceed from indolence counteracting nature. In fact, cleanness is agreeable to all ; and nastiness disagreeable : no person prefers dirt ; and even those who are the most accustomed to it, are pleased with a cleanly appearance in others. It is true, that a taste for cleanness, like that for order, for symmetry, for congruity, is extremely faint during its infancy among savages. Its strongest antagonist is indolence, which savages indulge

dulge to excess: the great fatigue they undergo in hunting, makes them fond of ease at home; and dirtiness when once habitual, is not easily conquered. But cleanness improves gradually with manners, and makes a figure in every industrious nation. Nor is a taste for cleanness bestow'd on man in vain: its final cause is conspicuous, cleanness being extremely wholesome, and nastiness no less unwholesome *.

Thus

* The plague, pestilential fevers, and other putrid diseases, were more frequent in Europe formerly than at present; especially in great cities, where multitudes were crowded together in small houses, separated by narrow streets. Paris, in the days of Henry IV. occupied not the third part of its present space, and yet contained nearly the same number of inhabitants; and in London the houses are much larger, and the streets wider, than before the great fire, 1666. There is also a remarkable alteration in point of diet. Formerly, people of rank lived on salt meat the greater part of the year: at present, fresh meat is common all the year round. Pot-herbs and roots are now a considerable article of food: about London in particular, the consumption at the Revolution was not the sixth part of what it is now. Add the great consumption of tea and sugar, which I am told by physicians to be no inconsiderable antiseptics. But the chief cause of all

Thus it appears, that a taste for cleanness is inherent in our nature. I say more: cleanness is evidently a branch of propriety, and consequently a self-duty. The performance is rewarded with approbation; and the neglect is punished with contempt (*a*).

A taste for cleanness is not equally distributed among all men; nor indeed is

is cleanness, which is growing more and more general, especially in the city of London. In Constantinople, putrid diseases reign as much as ever; not from unhealthiness in the climate, but from the narrowness and nastiness of the streets. How it comes that Turkish camps differ so much from the metropolis, I cannot say. Busbequius visited a Turkish camp in the days of Solyman the Magnificent. The ordure was carefully buried underground; not any noisom smell: in every corner it was clean and neat. The excrements, which appear every where in our camps when stationary, create a sort of plague among the men. Captain Cook lately made a voyage round the world, and lost but a single man by disease, who at the same time was sickly when he entered the ship. One main article that preserved the health of the crew was cleanness. The Captain regularly one morning every week reviewed his ship's company, to see that every one of them had clean linen; and he bestow'd the same care with respect to their cloaths and bedding.

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, chap. 10.

any branch of the moral sense equally distributed: and if by nature one person be more cleanly than another, a whole nation may be so. I judge that to be the case of the Japanese, so finically clean as to find fault even with the Dutch for dirtiness. Their inns are not an exception; nor their little-houses, in which water is always at hand for washing after the operation. I judged it to be also the case of the English, who, high and low rich and poor, are remarkable for cleanness all the world over; and I have often amused myself with so singular a resemblance between islanders, removed at the greatest distance from each other. But I was forc'd to abandon the resemblance, upon a discovery that the English have not always been so clean as at present. Many centuries ago, as recorded in monkish history, one cause of the aversion the English had to the Danes, was their cleanness: they combed their hair, and put on a clean shirt once a-week. It was reputed an extraordinary effort in Thomas a Becket, that he had his parlor strew'd every day with clean straw. The celebrated Erasmus, who visited England in the reign
of

of Henry VIII. complains of the nastiness and slovenly habits of its people; ascribing to that cause, the frequent plagues which infested them. "Their floors," says he, "are commonly of clay strewed
 "with rushes, under which lies unmolested
 "a collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of
 "dogs and cats, and of every thing that
 "is nauseous (a)." And the strewing a floor with straw or rushes was common in Queen Elisabeth's time, not excepting even her presence-chamber. A change so extraordinary in the taste and manners of the English, rouses our curiosity; and I flatter myself that the following cause will be satisfactory. A savage, remarkably indolent at home tho' not insensible of his dirtiness, cannot rouse up activity sufficient to attempt a serious purgation; and would be at a loss where to begin. The industrious, on the contrary, are improved in neatness and propriety, by the art or manufacture that constantly employs them: they are never reduced to purge the stable of Augeas; for being prone to action, they suffer not dirt to rest unmo-

(a) Epist. 432.

lested. Industrious nations accordingly, all the world over, are the most cleanly. Arts and industry had long flourished in Holland, where Erasmus was born and educated: the people were clean above all their neighbours, because they were industrious above all their neighbours; and upon that account, the dirtiness of England could not fail to strike a Hollander. At the period mentioned, industry was as great a stranger to England as cleanness: from which consideration, may it not fairly be inferred, that the English are indebted for their cleanliness to the great progress of industry among them in later times? If this inference hold, it places industry in an amiable light. The Spaniards, who are indolent to a degree, are to this day as dirty as the English were three centuries ago. Madrid, their capital, is nauseously nasty: heaps of unmolested dirt in every street, raise in that warm climate a pestiferous steam, which threatens to knock down every stranger. A purgation was lately set on foot by royal authority. But people habituated to dirt are not easily reclaimed: to promote industry is the only effectual remedy

medy *. The nastiness of the streets of Lisbon before the late earthquake was intolerable; and so is at present the nastiness of the streets of Cadiz.

Tho' industry be the chief promoter of cleanness, yet it is seldom left to operate alone: other causes mix, some to accelerate the progress, some to retard it. The moisture of the Dutch climate has a considerable influence in promoting cleanness; and, joined with industry, produces a surprising neatness and cleanness among people of business: men of figure and fashion, who generally resort to the Hague the seat of government, are not so cleanly.

* Till the year 1760, there was not a privy in Madrid, tho' it is plentifully supplied with water. The ordure, during night, was thrown from the windows into the street, where it was gathered into heaps. By a royal proclamation, privies were ordered to be built. The inhabitants, tho' long accustomed to an arbitrary government, resented this proclamation as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and struggled vigorously against it. The physicians were the most violent opposers: they remonstrated, that if the filth was not thrown into the streets, a fatal sickness would ensue; because the putrescent particles of air, which the filth attracted, would be imbibed by the human body.

On the other hand, the French are less cleanly than the English, tho' not less industrious. But the lower classes of people, being in England more at their ease than in France, have a greater taste for living well, and in particular for keeping themselves clean.

A beard gives to the countenance a rough and fierce air, suited to the manners of a rough and fierce people. The same face without a beard appears milder; for which reason, a beard becomes unfashionable in a polished nation. Demosthenes the orator lived in the same period with Alexander the Great, at which time the Greeks began to leave off beards. A bust however of that orator, found in Herculaneum, has a beard; which must either have been done for him when he was young, or from reluctance in an old man to a new fashion. Barbers were brought to Rome from Sicily, the 454th year after the building of Rome. And it must relate to a time after that period what Aulus Gellius says (*a*), that people accused of any crime, were prohibited to shave

(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 4.

their beards till they were absolved. From Hadrian downward, the Roman Emperors wore beards. Julius Capitolinus reproaches the Emperor Verus for cutting his beard, at the instigation of a concubine. All the Roman generals wore beards in Justinian's time (a). The Pope shaved his beard; which was held a manifest apostasy by the Greek church; because Moses, Jesus Christ, and even God the Father, were always drawn with beards by the Greek and Latin painters. Upon the dawn of smooth manners in France, the beaus cut the beard into shapes, and curled the whiskers. That fashion produced a whimsical effect: men of gravity left off beards altogether. A beard in its natural shape was too fierce, even for them; and they could not for shame copy after the beaus. This accounts for a regulation *an.* 1534 of the university of Paris, forbidding the professors to wear a beard.

Language, when brought to any perfection among a polished people, may justly be considered as one of the fine arts; and in that view is handled above. But considered as a branch of external behaviour,

(a) Procopii Historia Vandalica, lib. 2.

it belongs to the present sketch. Every part of external behaviour is influenced by temper and disposition, and speech more than any other part. In *Elements of Criticism* (a) it is observed, that an emotion in many instances bears a resemblance to its cause. The like holds universally in all the natural sounds prompted by passion. Let a passion be bold, rough, cheerful, tender, or humble, still it holds, that the natural sounds prompted by it, are in the same tone: and hence the reason why these sounds are the same in all languages. Some slight resemblance of the same kind, is discoverable in many artificial sounds. The language of a savage is harsh; of polite people, smooth; and of women, soft and musical. The tongues of savage nations abound in gutturals, or in nasals: yet one would imagine that such words, being pronounced with difficulty, should be avoided by savages, as they are by children. But temper prevails, and suggests to savages harsh sounds, conformable to their roughness and cruelty. The Esquimaux have a language composed of the harshest gutturals; and the languages of

(a) Chap. 2. part. 6.

the northern European nations, are not remarkably smother. The Scotch peasants are a frank and plain people; and their dialect is in the tone of their character. The Huron tongue hath stateliness and energy above most known languages; which is more conformable to the elevation of their sentiments than to their present low condition. Thus the manners of a people, may in some measure be gathered from their language. Nay manners may frequently be gathered from single words. The Hebrew word *LECHOM* signifies both *food* and *fighting*; and *TEREPH* signifies both *food* and *plunder*. *KARAB* signifies *to draw near to one*, and signifies also *to fight*. The Greek word *LEIA*, which signified originally *spoil procured by war or piracy*, came to signify *wealth*. And the great variety of Greek words signifying *good* and *better*, signified originally *strong* and *violent*.

Government, according to its different kinds, hath considerable influence in forming the tone of a language. Language in a democracy is commonly rough and coarse; in an aristocracy, manly and plain; in a monarchy, courteous and insinuating;

finuating; in despotism, imperious with respect to inferiors, and humble with respect to superiors. The government of the Greek empire is well represented in Justinian's edicts, termed *Novellæ Constitutiones*; the style of which is stiff, formal, and affectedly stately; but destitute of order, of force, and of ligament. About three centuries ago, Tuscany was filled with small republics, whose dialect was manly and plain. Its rough tones were purged off by their union under the Great Duke of Tuscany; and the Tuscan dialect has arrived nearer to perfection than any other in Italy. The tone of the French language is well suited to the nature of its government: every man is politely submissive to those above him; and this tone forms the character of the language in general, so as even to regulate the tone of the few who have occasion to speak with authority. The freedom of the English government forms the manners of the people: the English language is accordingly more manly and nervous than the French, and abounds more with rough sounds. The Lacedemonians of old, a proud and austere people, affected to talk
with

with brevity, in the tone of command more than of advice ; and hence the Laco-
nic style, dry but masculine. The Attic
style is more difficult to be accounted for :
it is sweet and copious ; and had a re-
markable delicacy above the style of any
other nation. And yet the democracy of
Athens produced rough manners ; wit-
ness the comedies of Aristophanes, and the
orations of Eschines and Demosthenes.
We are not so intimately acquainted with
the Athenians, as to account for the dif-
ference between their language and their
manners. We are equally at a loss about
the Russian tongue, which, notwithstand-
ing the barbarity of the people, is smooth
and sonorous : and tho' the Malayans are
the fiercest people in the universe, their
language is the softest of all that are spoken
in Asia. All that can be said is, that the
operation of a general cause may be dis-
turbed by particular circumstances. Lan-
guages resemble tides : the influence of
the moon, which is the general cause of
tides, is in several instances overbalanced
by particular causes acting in opposition.

There may be observed in some savage
tribes, a certain refinement of language
that

that might do honour to a polished people. The Canadians never give a man his proper name, in speaking to him. If he be a relation, he is addressed to in that quality: if a stranger, the speaker gives him some appellation that marks affection; such as, brother, cousin, friend.

In early times, people lived in a very simple manner, ignorant of such habitual wants as are commonly termed luxury. Rebecca, Rachel, and the daughters of Jethro, tended their fathers flocks: they were really shepherdesses. Young women of fashion drew water from the well with their own hands. The joiner who made the bridal bed of Ulysses, was Ulysses himself (*a*). The Princess Nausicaa washes the family-cloaths; and the Princes her brothers, upon her return, unyoke the car, and carry in the cloaths (*b*). Queens, and even female deities, are employ'd in spinning (*c*). Is it from this fashion that young women in England are denominated *spinsters*? Telemachus goes to council with no attendants but two dogs:

(*a*) Odyſſey, book 23.

(*b*) Book 6. & 7.

(*c*) Book 10.

“ Soon as in solemn form th’ assembly sat,
 “ From his high dome himself descends in state;
 “ Bright in his hand a pond’rous jav’lin shin’d;
 “ Two dogs, a faithful guard, attend behind.”

ODYSSEY, book 2.

Priam’s car is yoked by his own sons, when he goes to redeem from Achilles the body of his son Hector. Telemachus yokes his own car (*a*). Homer’s heroes kill and dress their own victuals (*b*). Achilles entertaining Priam, slew a snow-white sheep; and his two friends flea’d and dressed it. Achilles himself divided the roasted meat among his guests *. The story of Ruth is a pleasing instance of simplicity in antient times; and her laying herself down to sleep at the feet of Boaz, a no less pleasing instance of innocence in these times. No people lived more innocently than the antient Germans, tho’ men and women lived together without reserve. They slept promiscuously round

* Pope judging it below the dignity of Achilles to act the butcher, suppresses that article, imposing the task upon his two friends. Pope did not consider, that from a lively picture of ancient manners, proceeds one of the capital pleasures we have in perusing Homer.

(*a*) *Odyssey*, book 15. (*b*) *Odyssey*, book 19. & 20.

the walls of their houses ; and yet we never read of adultery among them. The Scotch Highlanders to this day live in the same manner. In Sparta, men and women lived familiarly together : public baths were common to both ; and in certain games, they danced and combated together naked as when born. In a later period, the Spartan dames were much corrupted ; occasioned, as authors say, by a shameful freedom of intercourse between the sexes. But remark, that corruption was not confined to the female sex, men having degenerated as much from their original manhood as women from their original chastity ; and I have no difficulty to maintain, that gold and silver, admitted contrary to the laws of Lycurgus, were what corrupted both sexes. Opulence could not fail to have the same effect there that it has every where ; which is to excite luxury and sensuality. The Spartans accordingly, shaking off austerity of manners, abandoned themselves to pleasure : the most expensive furniture, the softest beds, superb tapestry, precious vases, exquisite wines, delicious viands, were not now too delicate for an effemi-

nate Spartan, once illustrious for every manly virtue. Lycurgus understood human nature better than the writers do who carp at him. It was his intention, to make his countrymen soldiers, not whining lovers: and he justly thought, that familiar intercourse between the sexes, would confine their appetites within the bounds of nature; an useful lesson to women of fashion in our days, who expose their nakedness in order to attract and enflame lovers. What justifies this reasoning is, the ascendant that Spartan dames had over their husbands while the laws of Lycurgus were in vigour: they in effect ruled the state as well as their own families. Such ascendant cannot be obtained nor preserved but by strict virtue: a woman of loose manners may be the object of loose desire; but seldom will she gain an ascendant over any man, and never over her husband.

Not to talk of gold, silver was scarce in England during the reign of the third Edward. Rents were paid in kind; and what money they had, was locked up in the coffers of the great barons. Pieces of plate were bequeathed even by kings
of

of England, so trifling in our estimation, that a gentleman of a moderate fortune would be ashamed to mention such in his will.

Next of action. Man is naturally prone to motion ; witness children, who are never at rest but when asleep. Where reason governs, a man restrains that restless disposition, and never acts without a motive. Savages have few motives to action when the belly is full : their huts require little work ; and their covering of skins, still less. Hunting and fishing employ all their activity. After much fatigue in hunting, rest is sweet ; which the savage prolongs, having no motive to action till the time of hunting returns. Savages accordingly, like dogs, are extremely active in the field, and extremely indolent at home *. Sava-
ges

* *Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus ; plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno, ciboque. Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque, et infirmissimo cuique ex familia, ipsi hebent ; mira diversitate naturæ, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem. Tacitus, De moribus Germanorum, cap. 15. — [In English thus : “ While not engaged in war, they do*

ges in the torrid zone are indolent above all others: they go naked; their huts cost them no trouble; and vegetables, that grow spontaneously, are their only food. The Spaniards who first landed in Hispaniola, were surprised at the manners of the inhabitants. They are described as lazy, and without ambition; passing part of their time in eating and dancing, and the rest in sleep; having no great share of memory, and still less of understanding. The character given of these savages belongs to all, especially to savages in hot climates. The imperfection of their memory and judgement is occasioned by want of exercise. The same imperfection was remarkable in the people of Paraguay, when under Jesuit government; of which afterward (a).

“ not often spend their time in hunting, but chiefly in indolence, minding nothing but their sleep and food. The bravest and most warlike among them, having nothing to do, pass the time in a sluggish stupidity, committing the care of the house, the family, and the culture of the lands, to women, old men, and to the most weakly. Such is the wonderful diversity of their nature, that they are at once the most indolent of beings, and the most impatient of rest.”]

(a) Book 2. sketch 1.

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We now take under consideration, the progress of such manners as are more peculiarly influenced by internal disposition ; preparing the reader by a general view, before entering into particulars. Man is by nature a timid animal, having little ability to secure himself against harm : but he becomes bold in society, and gives vent to passion against his enemies. In the hunter-state, the daily practice of slaughtering innocent animals for food, hardens men in cruelty : more savage than bears or wolves, they are cruel even to their own kind *. The calm and sedentary life of

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* 'Tho' it is beyond the reach of conception, that blood, flesh, fibres, or bones, can be a *substratum* for thought, for will, for passion or for any mental quality ; yet certain philosophers boldly undertake to derive even the noblest principles from external circumstances relative to the body only. Thus courage and cowardice are held to depend on the climate by the celebrated Montesquieu and several others. Sir William Temple ascribes these qualities to food, maintaining, that no animal which lives on vegetables is endued with courage, the horse and cock alone excepted. I relish not doctrines that tend to degrade the most refined mental principles into bodily properties. With respect to the point under consideration, a very acute philosopher, taking

a shepherd, tends to soften the harsh manners of hunters ; and agriculture, requiring the union of many hands in one operation,

king a hint from Sir William Temple, derives from the difference of food the mental qualities of cruelty and humanity. (a) " Certain it is, (says that author), that the people who subsist mostly on animal food are cruel and fierce above others. The barbarity of the English is well known : the Gaures, who live wholly on vegetables, are the sweetest-tempered of all men. Wicked men harden themselves to murder by drinking blood." Even the most acute thinkers are not always on their guard against trivial analogies. Blood and slaughter are the fruits of cruelty ; and hence it is rashly inferred, that the drinking blood and eating flesh tend to inspire cruelty. The Carribees, in the same way of thinking, abstain from swines flesh ; " which, (say they), would make our eyes small like those of swine." Before venturing on a general rule, one ought to be prepared by an extensive induction of particulars. What will M. Rousseau say as to the Macassars, who never taste animal food, and yet are acknowledged to be the fiercest of mortals ? And what will he say as to the negroes of New Guinea, remarkably brutal and cruel ? A favourite dog, companion to his master, lives commonly on the refuse of his table, and yet is remarkably gentle. The English are noted for love of liberty : they cannot bear oppression ; and they know no bounds to resentment against oppressors. He may call this cru-

(a) Emile liv. i.

ration, improves benevolence. But here the hoarding appetite starts up to disturb that auspicious commencement of civi-

lity if he be so disposed : others more candid will esteem it a laudable property. But to charge a nation in general with cruelty and ferocity, can admit no excuse but stubborn truth. Ignorance cannot be admitted ; and yet he shows gross ignorance, as no people are more noted for humanity : in no other nation do sympathetic affections prevail more : none are more ready in cases of distress to stretch out a relieving hand. Did not the English, in abolishing the horrid barbarity of torture, give an illustrious example of humanity to all other nations ? Nay his instance of butchers being excluded from being put upon a jury, the only particular instance he gives of their cruelty, is on the contrary a proof of their humanity. For why are butchers excluded from being judges in criminal trials ? for no other reason than that being inured to the blood of animals, they may have too little regard to the lives of their fellow-subjects.

Flesh is composed of particles of different kinds. In the stomach, as in a still, it is resolved into its component particles, and ceases to be flesh before it enters the lacteals. Will M. Rousseau venture to say, which of these component particles it is that generates a cruel disposition ? Man, from the form of his teeth and from other circumstances, is evidently fitted by his maker for animal as well as vegetable food ; and it would be an imputation on providence, that either of them should have any bad effect on his mind more than on his body.

zation.

zation. Skilful husbandry, producing the necessaries of life in plenty, paves the way to arts and manufactures. Fine houses, splendid gardens, and rich apparel, are desirable objects: the appetite for property becomes headstrong, and to obtain gratification tramples down every obstacle of justice or honour (*a*). Differences arise, fomenting discord and resentment: war springs up, even among those of the same tribe; and while it was lawful for a man to take revenge at his own hand (*b*), that fierce passion swallow'd up all others. Inequality of rank and fortune fostered dissocial passions: witness pride in particular; which produced a custom, once universal among barbarians, of killing men, women, dogs, and horses, for the use of a chieftain in the other world. Such complication of hateful and violent passions, rendering society uncomfortable, cannot be stemmed by any human means, other than wholesome laws: a momentary obstacle inflames desire; but perpetual restraint deadens even the most fervid passion. The authority of good government

(*a*) See sketch 3.

(*b*) See Historical Law-tracts, tract 1.

gave vigour to kindly affections ; and appetite for society, which acts incessantly, tho' not violently, gave a currency to mutual good offices. A circumstance concurred to blunt the edge of dissocial passions : the first societies were small ; and small states in close neighbourhood, engender discord and resentment without end : the junction of many such states into a great kingdom, removes people farther from their enemies, and render them more gentle (*a*). In that situation, men have leisure and sedateness to relish the comforts of social life : they find that selfish and turbulent passions are subversive of society ; and through fondness for social intercourse, they patiently undergo the severe discipline, of restraining passion and smoothing manners. Violent passions that disturb the peace of society have subsided, and are now seldom heard of : humanity is in fashion, and social affections prevail. Men improve in urbanity by conversing with women ; and however selfish at heart, they conciliate favour by assuming an air of disinterestedness. Selfishness, thus re-

(*a*) See this more fully handled, book 2. sketch 1.

fined, becomes an effectual cause of civilization. But what follows? Turbulent and violent passions are buried, never again to revive; leaving the mind totally ingrossed by self-interest. In the original state of hunters and fishers, there being little connection among individuals, every man minds his own concerns, and selfishness governs. The discovery that hunting and fishing are best carried on in company, promotes some degree of society in that state: it gains ground in the shepherd-state, and makes a capital figure where husbandry and commerce flourish. Private concord is promoted by social affection; and a nation is prosperous in proportion as the *amor patriæ* prevails. But wealth, acquired whether by conquest or commerce, is productive of luxury and sensuality. As these increase, social affections decline, and at last vanish. This is visible in every opulent city that has long flourished in extensive commerce. Selfishness becomes the ruling passion: friendship is no more; and even blood-relation is little regarded. Every man studies his own interest: opulence and sensual pleasure are idols worshipped by all.

all. And thus in the progress of manners, men end as they began: selfishness is no less eminent in the last and most polished state of society, than in the first and most savage state.

From a general view of the progress of manners, we descend to particulars. And the first scene that presents itself is, cruelty to strangers, extended in process of time against members of the same tribe. Anger and resentment are predominant in savages, who never think of restraining passion. But this character is not universal: some tribes are remarkable for humanity, as mentioned in the first sketch. Anger and resentment formed the character of our European ancestors, and rendered them fierce and cruel. The Goths were so prone to blood, that, in their first inroads into the Roman territories, they massacred man, woman, and child. Procopius reports, that in one of these inroads, they left Italy thin of inhabitants. They were however an honest people; and by the polish they received in the civilized parts of Europe, they became no less remarkable for humanity, than formerly for cruelty. Totila, their king, having

mastered Rome after a long and bloody siege, permitted not a single person to be killed in cold blood, nor the chastity of any woman to be attempted. One cannot without horror think of the wanton cruelties exercised by the Tartars against the nations invaded by them under Gengizcan and Timor Bec.

A Scythian, says Herodotus, presents the king with the heads of the enemies he has killed in battle; and the man who brings not a head, gets no share of the plunder. He adds, that many Scythians clothe themselves with the skins of men, and make use of the skulls of their enemies to drink out of. Diodorus Siculus reports of the Gauls, that they carry home the heads of their enemies slain in battle: and after embalming them, deposit them in chests as their chief trophy; bragging of the sums offered for these heads by the friends of the deceased, and refused. In similar circumstances men are the same all the world over. The scalping of enemies, in daily use among the North-American savages, is equally cruel and barbarous.

No savages are more cruel than the Greeks and Trojans were, as described by

Homer;

Homer ; men butchered in cold blood, towns reduced to ashes, sovereigns exposed to the most humbling indignities, no respect paid to age nor to sex. The young Adrastus (*a*), thrown from his car, and lying in the dust, obtained quarter from Menelaus. Agamemnon upbraided his brother for lenity : “ Let none from destruction escape, not even the lisping infant in the mother’s arms : all her sons must with Ilium fall, and on her ruins unburied remain.” He pierced the suppliant with his spear ; and setting his foot on the body, pulled it out. Hector, having stript Patroclus of his arms, drags the slain along, vowing to lop the head from the trunk, and to give the mangled corse a prey to the dogs of Troy. And the seventeenth book of the Iliad, is wholly employ’d in describing the contest about the body between the Greeks and Trojans. Beside the brutality of preventing the last duties from being performed to a deceased friend, it is a low scene, unworthy of heroes. It was equally brutal in Achilles, to drag the corse of Hector to the ships tied to his car. In a scene between

(*a*) Book 6. of the Iliad,

Hector and Andromache (*a*), the treatment of vanquished enemies is pathetically described; sovereigns massacred, and their bodies left a prey to dogs and vultures; sucking infants dash'd against the pavement; ladies of the first rank forc'd to perform the lowest acts of slavery. Hector doth not dissemble, that if Troy should be conquered, his poor wife would be condemned to draw water like the vilest slave. Hecuba, in Euripides, laments, that she was chained like a dog at Agamemnon's gate; and the same savage manners are described in many other Greek tragedies. Prometheus makes free with the heavenly fire, in order to give life to man. As a punishment for bringing rational creatures into existence, the gods decree, that he be chained to a rock, and abandoned to birds of prey. Vulcan is introduced by Eschylus rattling the chain, nailing one end to a rock, and the other to the breast-bone of the criminal. Who but an American savage can at present behold such a spectacle, and not be shocked? A scene representing a woman murdered by her children, would be hissed

(*a*) Iliad, book 6.

by every modern audience ; and yet that horrid scene was represented with applause, in the *Electra* of Sophocles. Stobæus reports a saying of Menander, that even the gods cannot inspire a soldier with civility : no wonder that the Greek soldiers were brutes and barbarians, when war was waged, not only against the state, but against every individual. At present, humanity prevails among soldiers as among others ; because we make war only against a state, not against individuals. The Greeks are the less excusable for their cruelty, as they appear to have been sensible that humanity is a cardinal virtue. Barbarians are always painted by Homer as cruel ; polished nations as tender and compassionate ;

“ Ye gods ! (he cried) upon what barren coast,

“ In what new region is Ulysses tost ?

“ Possess’d by wild barbarians fierce in arms,

“ Or men whose bosom tender pity warms ?”

ODYSSEY, *book* 13. 241.

Cruelty is inconsistent with true heroism ; and accordingly very little of the latter is discoverable in any of Homer’s warriors. So much did they retain of the savage character, as, even without blushing,

ing, to fly from an enemy superior in bodily strength. Diomedes, who makes an illustrious figure in the fifth book of the Iliad, retires when Hector appears: "Diomedes beheld the chief, and shuddered to his inmost soul." Antilochus, son of Nestor, having slain Melanippus (*a*), rushed forward eager to seize his bright arms. But seeing Hector, he fled like a beast of prey who shuns the gathering hinds. And the great Hector himself, shamefully turns his back upon the near approach of Achilles: "Periphetes, endowed with every virtue, renowned in the race, great in war, in prudence excelling his fellows, gave glory to Hector, covering the chief with renown." One would expect a fierce combat between these two bold warriors. Not so, Periphetes stumbling, fell to the ground; and Hector was not ashamed to transfix with his spear the unresisting hero.

In the same tone of character, nothing is more common among Homer's warriors, than to insult a vanquish'd foe. Patroclus, having beat Cebriones to the ground with a huge stone, derides his fall in the following words.

(*a*) Book 15.

“ Good heav’ns ! what active feats yon artist shows,
“ What skilful divers are our Phrygian foes !
“ Mark with what ease they sink into the sand.
“ Pity ! that all their practice is by land.”

The Greeks are represented (a) one after another stabbing the dead body of Hector :
“ Nor stood an Argive near the chief who
“ inflicted not a wound. Surely now,
“ said they, more easy of access is Hector,
“ than when he launched on the ships
“ brands of devouring fire.”

When such were the manners of warriors at the siege of Troy, it is no surprise to find the heroes on both sides no less intent on stripping the slain than on victory. They are every where represented as greedy of spoil.

The Jews did not yield to the Greeks in cruelty. It is unnecessary to give instances, as the historical books of the Old Testament are in the hands of every one. I shall select one instance for a specimen, dreadfully cruel without any just provocation : “ And David gathered all the people
“ together, and went to Rabbah, and
“ fought against it, and took it. And he

(a) Book 22.

“ brought forth the people that were there-
 “ in, and put them under saws, and under
 “ harrows of iron, and under axes of iron,
 “ and made them pass through the brick-
 “ kiln : and thus did he unto all the cities
 “ of the children of Ammon (a).”

That cruelty was predominant among the Romans, is evident from every one of their historians. If a Roman citizen was found murdered in his own house, his whole household slaves, perhaps two or three hundred, were put to death without mercy, unless they could detect the murderer. Such a law, cruel and unjust, could never have been enacted among a people of any humanity. Brutality to their offspring was glaring. Children were held, like cattle, to be the father's property : and so tenacious was the *patria potestas*, that if a son or daughter sold to be a slave was set free, he or she fell again under the father's power, to be sold a second time, and even a third time. The power of life and death over children was much less unnatural, while no public tribunal existed for punishing crimes. A son, being a slave, could have no property

(a) 2 Samuel, xii. 29.

of his own. Julius Cæsar was the first who privileged a son to retain for his own use spoils acquired in war. When law became a lucrative profession, what a son gained in that way was declared to be his property. In Athens, a man had power of life and death over his children; but as they were not slaves, what they acquired belonged to themselves. So late as the days of Dioclesian, a son's marriage did not dissolve the Roman *patria potestas* (a). But the power of selling children wore out of use (b). When powers so unnatural were given to men over their children, and exercised so tyrannically, can there be any doubt of their cruelty to others *?

During

* The effect of such unnatural powers, was to eradicate natural affection between a man and his children. And indeed, so little of nature was left in this connection, that a law was found necessary prohibiting a man to disinherit his children, except for certain causes specified, importing gross ingratitude in the latter; which was done by Justinian the Emperor in one of his novels. But behold what follows. A prohibition to exheredate children renders them independent; and such independence

(a) l. 1. Cod. cap. De patria potestate.

(b) l. 10. cod.

During the second triumvirate, horrid cruelties were every day perpetrated without pity or remorse. Antony, having ordered Cicero to be beheaded and the head to be brought to him, viewed it with savage pleasure. His wife Fulvia laid hold of it, struck it on the face, uttered many bitter execrations, and having placed it between her knees, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with a bodkin. The delight it gave the Romans to see wild beasts set loose against one another in their circus, is a proof not at all ambiguous of their taste for blood, even at the time of their highest civilization. The Edile Scaurus sent at one time to Rome 150 panthers, Pompey 410, and Augustus 420, for the public spectacles. Their gladia-

produces an effect still more pernicious than despotic power in a father. Awe and reverence to parents make the only effectual check against the headstrong passions of youth : remove that check, and young men of fortune will give the rein to every vice. It deserves to be seriously pondered, whether the same encouragement be not given to vice, by a practice general in England among men of fortune in their marriage-articles ; which is, to vest the estate in trustees, for behoof of the heir of the marriage.

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torian combats are a less evident proof of their ferocity: the courage and address exerted in these combats gave a manly pleasure, that balanced in some measure the pain of seeing these poor fellows cut and slash one another. And that the Romans were never cured of their thirst for blood, appears from Caligula, Nero, and many other monsters, who governed the Romans after Augustus. There is no example in modern times of such monsters in France, tho' an absolute monarchy, nor even in Turkey.

Ferocity was, in the Roman empire, considerably mollified by literature and other fine arts; but it acquired new force upon the irruption of the barbarous nations who crushed that empire. In the year 559, Clotaire, King of the Franks, burnt alive his son, with all his friends, because they had rebelled against him. Queen Brunehaud, being by Clotaire II, condemned to die, was dragged through the camp at a horse's tail till she gave up the ghost. The ferocity of European nations, became boundless during the anarchy of the feudal system. Many peasants in the northern provinces of France, being
forely

forely oppressed in civil wars carried on by the nobles against each other, turned desperate, gathered together in bodies, resolving to extirpate all the nobles. A party of them, anno 1358, forc'd open the castle of a knight, hung him upon a gallows, violated in his presence his wife and daughters, roasted him upon a spit, compelled his wife and children to eat of his flesh, and terminated that horrid scene with massacring the whole family, and burning the castle. When they were asked, says Froissard, why they committed such abominable actions, their answer was, "That they did as they saw others do ;" "and that all the nobles in the world" "ought to be destroy'd." The nobles, when they got the upper hand, were equally cruel. They put all to fire and sword ; and massacred every peasant who came in the way, without troubling themselves to separate the innocent from the guilty. The Count de Ligny encouraged his nephew, a boy of fifteen, to kill with his own hand some prisoners who were his countrymen ; in which, says Monstrelet, the young man took great delight. How much worse than brutal must have been
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the manners of that age! for even a beast of prey kills not but when instigated by hunger. The third act of stealing from the lead-mines in Derby, was, by a law of Edward I, punished in the following manner. A hand of the criminal was nailed to a table; and in that condition he was left without meat or drink, having no means for freedom but to employ the one hand to cut off the other. The barbarity of the English at that period made severe punishments necessary: but the punishment mentioned goes beyond severity; it is brutal cruelty. The barbarous treatment of the Jews during the dark ages of Christianity, gives pregnant evidence, that Christians were not short of Pagans in cruelty. Poisoning and assassination were most licentiously perpetrated, no farther back than the last century. Some pious men made vigorous efforts in more than one general council to have assassination condemned, as repugnant to the law of God; but in vain*.

* It required the ferocity and cruelty of a barbarous age to give currency to a Mahometan doctrine, That the sword is the most effectual means of converting

I wish to soften the foregoing scene : it may be softened a little. Among barbarians, punishments must be sanguinary ; as their bodies only are sensible of pain, not their minds *.

The restoration of arts and sciences in Europe, and a reformation in religion, had a wonderful effect in sweetening manners, and promoting the interests of society. Of all crimes high treason is the most involved in circumstances ; and the most difficult to be defined or circumscribed. And yet, for that crime are reserved the most exquisite torments. In England, the punishment is, to cut up the criminal a-

verting men to a dominant religion. The establishment of the Inquisition will not permit me to say, that Christians never put in practice a doctrine so detestable : on the contrary, they surpassed the Mahometans, giving no quarter to heretics, either in this life, or in that to come. The eternity of hell-torments, is a doctrine no less inconsistent with the justice of the Deity, than with his benevolence.

* The Russians are far from refinement either in manners or feelings. The Baron de Manstein talking of the severity of Count Munich's military discipline, observes, that it is indispensable in Russia, where mildness makes no impression ; and that the Russians are governed by fear not by love.

live, to tear out his heart, to dash it about his ears, and to throw it into the flames. The same punishment continues in form, not in reality: the heart indeed is torn out, but not till the criminal is strangled. Even the virulence of religious zeal is considerably abated. Savonarola was condemned to the flames as an impious impostor; but he was first privately strangled. The fine arts, which humanize manners, were in Italy at that time accelerating toward perfection. The famous Latimer was in England condemned to be burnt for heresy: but bags of gunpowder were put under his arms, that he might be burnt with the least pain. Even Knox, a violent Scotch reformer, acknowledges, that Wishart was strangled before he was thrown into the flames for heresy. So bitter was the late persecution against the Jesuits, that not only were their persons proscribed, but in many places their books, not even excepting books upon mathematics, and other abstract subjects. That persecution resembled in many particulars the persecution against the knights-templars: fifty-nine of the latter were burnt alive: the former were really less inno-

cent; and yet such humanity prevails at present, that not a drop of Jesuit-blood has been shed. A bankrupt in Scotland, if he have not suffered by unavoidable misfortune, is by law condemned to wear a party-coloured garment. That law is not now put in execution, unless where a bankrupt deserves to be stigmatized for his culpable misconduct.

Whether the following late instance of barbarity do not equal any of those above mentioned, I leave to the reader. No traveller who visited Petersburg during the reign of the Empress Elisabeth can be ignorant of Madam Lapouchin, the great ornament of that court. Her intimacy with a foreign ambassador having brought her under suspicion of plotting with him against the government, she was condemned to undergo the punishment of the knout. At the place of execution, she appeared in a genteel undress, which heightened her beauty. Of whatever indiscretion she might have been guilty, the sweetness of her countenance and her composure, left not in the spectators the slightest suspicion of guilt. Her youth also, her beauty, her life and spirit pleaded for her

her.—But all in vain: she was deserted by all, and abandoned to surly executioners; whom she beheld with astonishment, seeming to doubt whether such preparations were intended for her. The cloak that covered her bosom being pulled off, modesty took the alarm, and made her start back: she turned pale, and burst into tears. One of the executioners stripp'd her naked to the waste, seized her with both hands, and threw her on his back, raising her some inches from the ground. The other executioner laying hold of her delicate limbs with his rough fists, put her in a posture for receiving the punishment. Then laying hold of the knout, a sort of whip made of a leathern strap, he with a single stroke tore off a slip of skin from the neck downward, repeating his strokes till all the skin of her back was cut off in small slips. The executioner finished his task with cutting out her tongue; after which she was banished to Siberia *.

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* The present Empress has laid an excellent foundation for civilizing her people; which is a Code of laws, founded on principles of civil liberty, banish-

The native inhabitants of the island Amboyna are Malaysians. Those on the sea-coast are subject to the Dutch: those in the inland parts are their declared enemies, and never give quarter. A Dutch captive, after being confined five days without food, is ripped up, his heart cut out, and the head, sever'd from the body, is preserved in spice for a trophy. Those who can show the greatest number of Dutch heads are the most honourable.

In early times, when revenge and cruelty trampled on law, people formed associations for securing their lives and their possessions. These were common in Scandinavia and in Scotland. They were also common in England during the Anglo-Saxon government, and for some ages after the Conquest. But instead of support-

ing slavery and torture, and expressing the utmost regard for the life, property, and liberty, of all her subjects, high and low. Peter I. reformed many bad customs: but being rough in his own manners, he left the manners of his people as he found them. If this Empress happen to enjoy a long and prosperous reign, she may possibly accomplish the most difficult of all undertakings, that of polishing a barbarous people. No task is too arduous for a woman of such spirit.

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ing justice, they contributed more than any other cause to confusion and anarchy, the members protecting each other, even in robbery and murder. They were suppressed in England by a statute of Richard II.; and in Scotland by reiterated statutes.

Roughness and harshness of manners are generally connected with cruelty; and the manners of the Greeks and Trojans, are accordingly represented in the *Iliad* as remarkably rough and harsh. When the armies were ready to engage (*a*), Menestheus King of Athens, and Ulysses of Ithaca, are bitterly reproached by Agamemnon for lingering, while others were more forward. “Son of Peleus, he said, and
“thou versed in artful deceit, in mischief only wise, why trembling shrink
“ye back from the field; why wait till
“others engage in fight? You it became,
“as first in rank, the first to meet the
“flame of war. Ye first to the banquet
“are called, when we spread the feast.
“Your delight is to eat, to regale, to
“quaff unstinted the generous wine.” In the fifth book, Sarpedon upbraids Hector

(*a*) Book 4.

for cowardice. And Tlepolemus, ready to engage with Sarpedon, attacks him first with reviling and scurrilous words. Because Hector was not able to rescue the dead body of Sarpedon from the Greeks, he is upbraided by Glaucus, Sarpedon's friend, in the following words. "Hector, tho' specious in form, distant art
 " thou from valour in arms. Undeserved hast thou fame acquired, when
 " thus thou shrinkest from the field.
 " Thou sustaineest not the dreadful arm,
 " not even the fight of godlike Ajax. Thou
 " hast shunned his face in the fight : thou
 " darest not approach his spear."

Rough and harsh manners produced slavery; and slavery fostered rough and harsh manners, by giving them constant exercise. The brutality of the Spartans to the Helots, their slaves, is a reproach to the human species. Beside the harshest usage, they were prevented from multiplying by downright murder and massacre. Why did not such barbarity render the Spartans detestable, instead of being respected by their neighbours as the most virtuous people in Greece? There can be but one reason, that the Greeks
 were

were all of them cruel, the Spartans a little more perhaps than the rest. In Rome, a slave, chain'd at the gate of every great house, gave admittance to the guests invited to a feast : could any but barbarians behold such a spectacle without pain ?

Whence the rough and harsh manners of our West-Indian planters, but from the unrestrained licence of venting ill humour upon their negro slaves * ? Why are cart-
ers

* C'est de cet esclavage des negres, que les Créoles tirent peut-être en partie un certain caractère, qui les fait paroître bizzarres, fantasques, et d'une société peu goûtée en Europe. A peine peuvent-ils marcher dans l'enfance, qu'ils voient autour d'eux des hommes grands et robustes, destinés à deviner, à prévenir leur volonté. Ce premier coup d'œil doit leur donner d'eux-mêmes l'opinion la plus extravagante. Rarement exposés à trouver de la résistance dans leurs fantaisies même injustes, ils prennent un esprit de présomption, de tyrannie, et de mépris extrême, pour une grande portion du genre humain. Rien n'est plus insolent que l'homme qui vit presque toujours avec ses inférieurs ; mais quand ceux-ci sont des esclaves, accoutumés à servir des enfans, à craindre jusqu' à des cris qui doivent leur attirer des châtimens, que peuvent devenir des maîtres qui n'ont jamais obéi, des méchans qui n'ont jamais été punis, des foux qui mettent des hommes à la chaîne ?
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ers a rugged set of men? Plainly because horses, their slaves, submit without resistance. An ingenious writer, describing Guiana in the southern continent of America, observes, that the negroes, who are more numerous than the whites, must be kept in awe by severity of discipline. And he endeavours to justify the practice; ur-

Européens dans les Deux Indes, l. 4. p. 201. — [In English thus: “ It is from this slavery of the negroes, “ that the Creoles derive in a great measure that “ character which makes them appear capricious “ and fantastical, and of a style of manners which “ is not relished in Europe. Scarcely have the “ children learned to walk, when they see around “ them tall and robust men, whose province it is “ to guess their inclinations, and to prevent their “ wishes. This first observation must give them the “ most extravagant opinion of themselves. From “ being seldom accustomed to meet with any opposi- “ tion, even in their most unreasonable whims, “ they acquire a presumptuous and tyrannical dis- “ position, and entertain an extreme contempt for a “ great part of the human race. None is so inso- “ lent as the man who lives almost always with his “ inferiors; but when these inferiors are slaves ac- “ customed to serve infants, and to fear even their “ crying, for which they must suffer punishment, “ what can be expected of those masters who have “ never obeyed, profligates who have never met “ with chastisement, and madmen who load their “ fellow-creatures with chains?”

ging, that beside contributing to the safety of the white inhabitants, it makes the slaves themselves less unhappy. “Impossibility of attainment, says he, never fails to annihilate desire of enjoyment; and rigid treatment, suppressing every hope of liberty, makes them peaceably submit to slavery.” Sad indeed must be the condition of slaves, if harsh treatment contribute to make them less unhappy. Such reasoning may be relished by rough European planters, intent upon gain: I am inclined however to believe, that the harsh treatment of these poor people is more owing to the avarice of their masters, than to their own perverseness *. That slaves in all ages have been harshly treated, is a melancholy truth. One exception I know, and but one, which I gladly mention in honour of the Man-

* In England slavery subsisted so late as the sixteenth century. A commission was issued by Queen Elizabeth, anno 1574, for enquiring into the lands and goods of all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Glo’ster, in order to compound with them for their manumission or freedom, that they might enjoy their own lands and goods as free men.

dingo negroes. Their slaves, who are numerous, receive very gentle treatment; the women especially, who are generally so well dressed as not to be distinguishable from those who are free.

Many political writers are of opinion, that for crimes instigated by avarice only, slavery for life and hard work, would be a more adequate punishment than death. I would subscribe to that opinion but for the following consideration, that the having such criminals perpetually in view, would harden our hearts, and eradicate pity, a capital moral passion. Behold the behaviour of the Dutch in the island of Amboyna. A native who is found guilty of theft, is deprived of his ears and nose, and made a slave for life. William Funnell, who was there anno 1705, reports, that 500 of these wretches were secured in prison, and never suffered to go abroad but in order to saw timber, to cut stone, or to carry heavy burdens. Their food is a pittance of coarse rice boiled in water, and their bed the hard ground. What is still worse, poor people who happen to run in debt, are turned over to the servants of the East-India company,

pany, who fend them to work among their slaves, with a daily allowance of two pence, which goes to the creditor. A nation must be devoid of bowels, who can establish such inhumanity by law. But time has rendered that practice so familiar to the Dutch, that they behold with absolute indifference the multiplied miseries of their fellow-creatures. It appears indeed, that such a punishment would be more effectual than death to repress theft; but can any one doubt, that society would suffer more by eradicating pity and humanity, than it would gain by punishing capitally every one who is guilty of theft? At the same time, the Dutch, however cruel to the natives, are extremely complaisant to one another: seldom is any of them punished but for murder: a small sum will procure pardon for any other crime.

A degree of coarseness and indelicacy is connected with rough manners. The manners of the Greeks, as copied by Plautus and Terence from Menander and other Greek writers, were extremely coarse; such as may be expected from a people living among their slaves, without any so-

ciety with virtuous women. The behaviour of Demosthenes and Eschines to each other in their public harangues, is wofully coarse. But Athens was a democracy; and a democracy, above all other governments, is rough and licentious. In the Athenian comedy, neither gods nor men are spared. The most respectable persons of the republic are ridiculed by name in the comedies of Aristophanes, which wallow in looseness and detraction. In the third act of *Andromaché*, a tragedy of Euripides, Peleus and Menelaus, Kings of Theffaly and Sparta, fall into downright ribaldry; Menelaus swearing that he will not give up his victim, and Peleus threatening to knock him down with his staff. The manners of Jason, in the tragedy of *Medea* by Euripides, are wofully indelicate. With unparalleled ingratitude to his wife Medea, he, even in her presence, makes love to the King of Corinth's daughter, and obtains her in marriage. Instead of blushing to see a person he had so deeply injured, he coolly endeavours to excuse himself, "that he was an
 " exile like herself, without support; and
 " that his marriage would acquire power-
 " ful

“ful friends to them and to their children.” Could he imagine, that such frigid reasons would touch a woman of any spirit? A most striking picture of indelicate manners, is exhibited in the tragedy of *Alcestes*. *Admetus* prevails upon *Alcestes*, his loving and beloved wife, to die in his stead. What a barbarian must the man be, who grasps at life upon such a condition? How ridiculous is the bombast flourish of *Admetus*, that, if he were *Orpheus*, he would pierce to hell, brave the three-headed *Cerberus*, and bring his wife to earth again! and how indecently does he scold his father, for refusing to die for him! What pretext could the monster have to complain of his father, when he himself was so disgracefully fond of life, as even to solicit his beloved spouse to die in his stead! What stronger instance, after all, would one require of indelicacy in the manners of the Greeks, than that they held all the world except themselves to be barbarians? In that particular, however, they are not altogether singular. Tho’ the *Tartars*, as mentioned above, were foul feeders, and hoggishly nasty, yet they were extremely proud, despising, like the
Greeks,

Greeks; every other nation. The people of Congo think the world to be the work of angels; except their own country, which they hold to be the handiwork of the supreme architect. The Greenlanders have a high conceit of themselves; and in private make a mock of the Europeans, or Kablunets, as they call them. Despising arts and sciences, they value themselves on their skill in catching seals, conceiving it to be the only useful art. They hold themselves to be the only civilized and well-bred people; and when they see a modest stranger, they say, "he begins to be a man;" that is, to be like one of themselves. Sometimes however sparks of light are perceived breaking through the deepest gloom. When the Athenians were at war with Philip King of Macedon, they intercepted some letters addressed by him to his ministers. These they opened for intelligence. But one to his Queen Olympias, they left with the messenger untouched. This was done not by a single person, but by authority of the whole people.

So coarse and indelicate were Roman manners, that whipping was a punishment inflicted on the officers of the army,

not

not even excepting centurions (*a*). Doth it not show extreme grossness of manners, to express in plain words the parts that modesty bids us conceal? and yet this is common in Greek and Roman writers. In the Cyclops of Euripides, there is represented a scene of the vice against nature, grossly obscene, without the least disguise: How wofully indelicate must the man have been, who could sit down gravely to compose such a piece! and how dissolute must the spectators have been, who could behold such a scene without hissing! Next to the indecency of exposing one's nudities in good company, is the talking of them without reserve. Horace is extremely obscene, and Martial no less. But I censure neither of them, and as little the Queen of Navarre for her tales; for they wrote according to the manners of the times: it is the manners I censure, not the writers. In Rome a woman taken in adultery was prostituted on the public street to all comers, a bell ringing the whole time. This abominable practice was abolished by the Emperor Theodosius (*b*).

(*a*) Julius Capitolinus, in the life of Albinus.

(*b*) Socrates, Hist. Eccl. liv. 5. cap. 18.

The manners of Europe, before the revival of letters, were no less coarse than cruel. In the Cartularies of Charlemagne, judges are forbidden to hold courts but in the morning, with an empty stomach. It would appear, that men in those days were not ashamed to be seen drunk, even in a court of justice. It was customary, both in France and Italy, to collect for sport all the strumpets in the neighbourhood; and to make them run races. Several feudal tenures give evidence of manners both low and coarse. Struvius mentions a tenure, binding the vassal, on the birth-day of his lord, to dance and fart before him. The cod-pice, which, a few centuries ago, made part of a man's dress and which swelled by degrees to a monstrous size, testifies shamefully-coarse manners; and yet it was a modest ornament, compared with one used in France during the reign of Lewis XI. which was the figure of a man's privy parts fixed to the coat or breeches. In the same period, the judgment of Paris was a favourite theatrical entertainment: three women stark-naked represented the three goddesses, Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Nick-names, so com-

mon not long ago, are an instance of the same coarseness of manners; for to fix a nick-name on a man, is to use him with contemptuous familiarity. In the thirteenth century, many clergymen refused to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper, unless they were paid for it *. In the tenth century, Edmond King of England, at a festival in the county of Gloucester, observed Leolf, a notorious robber under sentence of banishment, sitting at table with the King's attendants. Enraged at this insolence, he ordered Leolf to leave the room. On his refusing to obey, the King leaped on him and seized him by the hair. The ruffian drew his dagger, and gave the King a wound of which he immediately expired. How lamentable would be our condition, were we as much persecuted as our forefathers were with omens, dreams, prophecies, astrologers, witches, and apparitions? Our forefathers were robust both in mind and body; and

* *Corpus Christi tenentes in manibus, (says the canon), ac si dicerent, Quid mihi vultis dare, et ego eum vobis tradam? — [In English thus: "Holding the body of Christ in their hands, as if they said, What will you give me for this?"]*

could bear without much pain what would totally overwhelm us.

Even after the revival of letters the European manners were a long time coarse and indelicate. In the year 1480 the Cardinal Bibiena exhibited the *Calendra*, a comedy of intrigue upon a good model, but extremely licentious, as all compositions of that age were. The *Mandragora* of Machiavel is equally licentious; and considering the author, the Queen of Navarre's tales, worst of all.

Swearing as an expletive of speech, is a violent symptom of rough and coarse manners. It prevails among all barbarous nations. Even women in Plautus use it fluently. It prevailed in Spain and in France, till it was banished by polite manners. Our Queen Elifabeth was a bold swearer*; and the English populace, who are rough beyond their neighbours,

* Writing to her sister the Queen, begging that she might not be imprisoned in the tower, she concludes her letter thus. "As for that traitor Wyat, he might peradventure write me a letter: but on my faith I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French King, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter."

are noted by strangers for that vice. John King of England swore commonly “by the teeth of God.” Charles VIII. of France “by God’s day.” Francis I. “upon the faith of a gentleman.” And the oath of Lewis XII. was “may the devil take me.” Tho’ swearing in order to enforce an expression, is not in itself immoral; it is however hurtful in its consequences, rendering sacred names too familiar. God’s beard, the common oath of William Rufus, suggests an image of our maker as an old man with a long beard. In vain have acts of parliament been made against swearing: it is easy to evade the penalty, by coining new oaths; and as that vice proceeds from an overflow of spirits, people in that condition brave penalties. Polished manners are the only effectual cure for that malady.

When a people begin to emerge out of barbarity, loud mirth and rough jokes come in place of rancour and resentment. About a century ago, it was usual for the servants and retainers of the court of session in Scotland, to break out into riotous mirth and uproar the last day of every term, throwing bags, dust, sand, or stones,

all around. We have undoubted evidence of that disorderly practice from an act of the court, prohibiting it under a severe penalty, as dishonourable to the court, and unbecoming the civility requisite in such a place (*a*).

And this leads to the lowness of ancient manners; plainly distinguishable from simplicity of manners: the latter is agreeable, not the former. Among the ancient Egyptians, to cram a man was an act of high respect. Joseph, the King's first minister, in order to honour Benjamin above his brethren, gave him a five-fold mess (*b*). The Greeks in their feasts distinguished their heroes by a double portion (*c*). Ulysses cut a fat piece out of the chine of a wild boar for Demodocus the bard (*d*). The same respectful politeness is practised at present among the American savages; so much are all men alike in similar circumstances. Telemachus (*e*) complains bitterly of Penelope's suitors, that they were gluttons, and consumed his beef and

(*a*) Act of Sederunt, 21st February 1663.

(*b*) Gen. xliii. 24. (*c*) *Odyssæy*, b. 8. v. 513. b. 15. v. 156. (*d*) *Odyssæy*, b. 8. v. 519. (*e*) *Odyssæy*, b. 2.

mutton. The whole 14th book of the *Odyſſey*, containing the reception of Ulyſſes by Eumæus the ſwine-herd, is miſerably low. Manners muſt be both groſs and low, where common beggars are admitted to the feaſts of princes, and receive ſcraps from their hands (*a*). In Rome every gueſt brought his own napkin to a feaſt. A ſlave carried it home, filled with what was left from the entertainment. Sophocles, in his tragedy of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, repreſents Clytemneſtra, ſtepping down from her car; and exhorting her ſervants to look after her baggage, with the anxiety and minutenefs of a lady's waiting-woman. In the tragedy of *Jon*, this man, a ſervant in the temple of Delphos, is repreſented cleaning the temple, and calling out to a flock of birds, each by name, threatening to pierce them with his arrows if they dunged upon the offerings. Homer paints in lively colours the riches of the Phœaciſians, their ſkill in navigation, the magnificence of the king's court, of his palace, and of the public buildings. But, with the ſame breath, he deſcribes Naulicæa, the king's daughter, travelling

(*a*) See 17th & 18th books of the *Odyſſey*.

to the river on a waggon of greasy cloaths, to be washed by her and her maids. Possibly it may be urged, that such circumstances, however low in our opinion, did not appear low in Greece, as they were introduced by their chief poet; and the greatest that ever existed. I acknowledge the force of this argument: but what does it prove more, but that the Greeks were not sensible of the lowness of their manners? Is any nation sensible of the lowness of their own manners? The manners of the Greeks did not correspond to the delicacy of their taste in the fine arts: nor can it be expected, when they were strangers to that polite society with women, which refines behaviour and elevates manners. The first kings in Greece, as Thucydides observes, were elective, having no power but to command their armies in time of war; which resembles the government that obtains at present in the isthmus of Darien. The Greeks had no written laws, being governed by custom merely. To live by plunder was held honourable; for it was their opinion, that the rules of justice are not intended for restraining the powerful. All strangers were accounted

enemies,

enemies, as among the Romans ; and inns were unknown, because people lived at home, having very little intercourse even with those of their own nation. Inns were unknown in Germany, and to this day are unknown in the remote parts of the highlands of Scotland ; but for an opposite reason, that hospitality prevailed greatly among the ancient Germans, and continues to prevail so much among our highlanders, that a gentleman takes it for an affront if a stranger pass his door. At a congress between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, among other spectacles for public entertainment, the two kings had a wrestling-match. Had they forgot that they were sovereign princes ?

One would imagine war to be a foil too rough for the growth of civilization ; and yet it is not always an unkindly foil. War between two small tribes is fierce and cruel : but a large state mitigates resentment, by directing it, not against individuals, but against the state in general. We know no enemies but those who are in arms : we have no resentment against others, but rather find a pleasure in treating

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ing them with humanity *. Cruelty, having thus in war few individuals for its object, naturally subsides ; and magnanimity in its stead transforms soldiers from brutes to heroes. Some time ago, it was usual in France to demand battle ; and it was held dishonourable to decline it, however unequal the match. Before the battle of Pavia, Francis I. wrote to the Marquis Pescara, the Imperial General, “ You
 “ will find me before Pavia, and you
 “ ought to be here in six days : I give you
 “ twenty. Let not the superiority of my
 “ forces serve for an excuse, I will fight
 “ you with equal numbers.” Here was heroism without prudence ; but in all re-formations, it is natural to go from one extreme to the other. While the King of England held any possessions in France, war was perpetual between the two nations ; which was commonly carried on

* The constable du Guesclin, the greatest warrior of his time, being on deathbed an. 1380, and bidding adieu to his veteran officers who had served under him forty years, entreated them not to forget what he had said to them a thousand times,
 “ that in whatever country they made war, church-
 “ men, women, infants, and the poor people, were
 “ not their enemies.”

with more magnanimity than is usual between inveterate enemies. It became customary, to give prisoners their freedom, upon a simple parole to return with their ransom at a day named. The same was the custom in the border-wars between the English and Scots, before their union under one monarch. But parties found their account equally in such honourable behaviour. Edward Prince of Wales, in a pitched battle against the French, took the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin prisoner. He long declined to accept a ransom; but finding it whispered that he was afraid of that hero, he instantly set him at liberty without a ransom. This may be deemed impolitic or whimsical: but is love of glory less praise-worthy than love of conquest? The Duke of Guise, victor in the battle of Dreux, rested all night in the field of battle; and gave the Prince of Condé, his prisoner, a share of his bed, where they lay like brothers. The Chevalier Bayard, commander of a French army *anno* 1524, being mortally wounded in retreating from the Imperialists, placed himself under a tree, his face however to the enemy. The Marquis de Pescara, General

neral of the Imperialists, finding him dead in that posture, behaved with the generosity of a gallant adversary : he directed his body to be embalmed, and to be sent to his relations in the most honourable manner. Magnanimity and heroism, in which benevolence is an essential ingredient, are inconsistent with cruelty, perfidy, or any grovelling passion. Never was gallantry in war carried to a greater height, than between the English and Scotch borderers before the crowns were united. The night after the battle of Otterburn, the victors and vanquished lay promiscuously in the same camp, without apprehending the least danger one from the other. The manners of ancient warriors were very different. Homer's hero, tho' superior to all in bodily strength, takes every advantage of his enemy ; and never feels either compassion or remorse. The policy of the Greeks and Romans in war, was to weaken a state by plundering its territory, and destroying its people. Humanity with us prevails even in war. Individuals not in arms are secure, which saves much innocent blood. Prisoners were set at liberty upon paying a ransom ; and by later improvements

provements in manners, even that practice is left off as too mercantile ; a more honourable practice being substituted, viz. a cartel for exchange of prisoners. Humanity was carried to a still greater height, in our late war with France, by an agreement between the Duke de Noailles and the Earl of Stair, That the hospitals for the sick and wounded soldiers should be secure from all hostilities. The humanity of the Duke de Randan in the same war, makes an illustrious figure even in the present age, remarkable for humanity to enemies. When the French troops were compelled to abandon their conquests in the electorate of Hanover, their Generals every where burnt their magazines, and plundered the people. The Duke de Randan, who commanded in the city of Hanover, put the magistrates in possession of his magazines, requesting them to distribute the contents among the poor ; and he was beside extremely vigilant to prevent his soldiers from committing acts of violence *.

I

* Such kindness in an enemy from whom nothing is expected but mischief, is an illustrious instance of humanity. And a similar instance will not make

I relish not the brutality exercised in the present war between the Turks and Russians. The latter, to secure their winter quarters

the less figure that it was done by a man of inferior rank. When Mons. Thurot, during our late war with France, appeared on the coast of Scotland with three armed vessels; the terror he at first spread, soon yielded to admiration of his humanity. He paid a full price for every thing; and in general behaved with so much affability, that a countryman ventured to complain to him of an officer who had robbed him of fifty or sixty guineas. The officer acknowledged the fact; but said, that he had divided the money among his men. Thurot ordered the officer to give his bill for the money; which, he said, should be stopped out of his pay, if they were so fortunate as to return to France. Compare this incident with that of the great Scipio, celebrated in Roman story, who restored a beautiful young woman to her bridegroom, and it will not suffer by the comparison. Another instance is no less remarkable. One of his officers gave a bill upon a merchant in France, for the price of provisions purchased by him. Thurot having accidentally seen the bill, informed the countryman that it was of no value, reprimanded the officer bitterly for the cheat, and compelled him to give a bill upon a merchant who he knew would pay the money. At that very time, Thurot's men were in bad humour, and disposed to mutiny. In such circumstances, would not Thurot have been excused for winking at a fraud to which he was not accessory? But he acted all

quarters on the left hand of the Danube, laid waste a large territory on the right. To reduce so many people to misery merely to prevent a surprize, which can be more effectually done by strict discipline, is a barbarous remedy. But the peace concluded between these great powers, has given an opening to manners very different from what were to be expected from the fact now mentioned. This peace has been attended, with signal marks not only of candour but of courtesy. The Grand Signior, of his own accord, has dismissed from chains every Christian taken prisoner

all along with the strictest honour, even at the hazard of his life. Common honesty to an enemy is not a common practice in war. Thurot was strictly honest in circumstances that made the exertion of common honesty an act of the highest magnanimity. These incidents ought to be held up to princes as examples of true heroism. War carried on in that manner, would, from desolation and horror, be converted into a fair field for acquiring true military glory, and for exercising every manly virtue. I feel the greatest satisfaction, in paying this tribute of praise to the memory of that great man. He will be kept in remembrance by every true-hearted Briton, tho' he died fighting against us. But he died in the field of honour, fighting for his country.

during

during the war ; and the Empress of Russia has set at liberty 3000 Turks, with an order to set at liberty every Turk within her dominions. The necessity of fortifying towns to guard from destruction the innocent and defenceless, affords convincing evidence of the savage cruelty that prevailed in former times. By the growth of humanity, such fortifications have become less frequent : and they serve no purpose at present, but to defend against invasion ; in which view a small fortification, if but sufficient for the garrison, is greatly preferable ; being constructed at a much less expence, and having the garrison only to provide for.

In the progress of society, there is commonly a remarkable period, when social and dissocial passions seem to bear equal sway, prevailing alternately. In the history of Alexander's successors, there are frequent instances of cruelty, equalling that of American savages ; and instances no less frequent of gratitude, of generosity, and even of clemency, that betoken manners highly polished. Ptolemy of Egypt, having gained a complete victory over Demetrius, son of Antigonus, restored

to

to him his equipage, his friends, and his domestics, saying, that “they ought not
“to make war for plunder, but for glory.”
Demetrius having defeated one of Ptolemy’s Generals, was less delighted with the victory, than with the opportunity of rivalling his antagonist in humanity. The same Demetrius having restored liberty to the Athenians, was treated by them as a demi-god; and yet afterward, in his adversity, found their gates shut against him. Upon a change of fortune he laid siege to Athens, resolving to chastise that rebellious and ungrateful people. He assembled the inhabitants in the theatre, surrounding them with his army, as preparing for a total massacre. Their terror was great, but short: he pronounced their pardon, and bestow’d on them 100,000 measures of wheat. Ptolemy, the same who is mentioned above, having at the siege of Tyre summoned Andronicus the governor to surrender, received a provoking and contemptuous answer. The town being taken, Andronicus gave himself up to despair: but the King, thinking it below his dignity to resent an injury against an inferior, now his prisoner, not only overlooked

looked the affront, but courted Andronicus to be his friend. Edward, the Black Prince, is an instance of refined manners, breaking, like a spark of fire, through the gloom of barbarity. The Emperor Charles V. after losing 30,000 men at the siege of Metz, made an ignominious retreat, leaving his camp filled with sick and wounded, dead and dying. Tho' the war between him and the King of France was carried on with unusual rancour, yet the Duke of Guise, governor of the town, exerted in those barbarous times, a degree of humanity that would make a splendid figure even at present. He ordered plenty of food for those who were dying of hunger, appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded, removed to the adjacent villages those who could bear motion, and admitted the remainder into the hospitals that he had fitted up for his own soldiers : those who recovered their health were sent home, with money to defray the expence of the journey.

In the period that intervenes between barbarity and humanity, there are not wanting instances of opposite passions in the same person, governing alternately ;

as if a man could this moment be mild and gentle, and next moment harsh and brutal. To vouch the truth of this observation, I beg leave to introduce two rival monarchs, who for many years distressed their own people, and disturbed Europe, the Emperor Charles, and the French King Francis. The Emperor, driven by contrary winds on the coast of France, was invited by Francis, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, to take shelter in his dominions, proposing an interview at Aigues-Mortes, a sea-port town. The Emperor instantly repaired there in his galley; and Francis, relying on the Emperor's honour, visited him on shipboard, and was received with every expression of affection. Next day, the Emperor repaid the confidence reposed in him: he landed at Aigues-Mortes with as little precaution, and found a reception equally cordial. After twenty years of open hostilities or of secret enmity, after having formally given the lie and challenged each other to single combat, after the Emperor had publicly inveighed against Francis as void of honour, and Francis had accused the Emperor as murderer of

his own son; a behaviour so open and frank will scarce be thought consistent with human nature. But these monarchs lived in a period verging from cruelty to humanity; and such periods abound with surprising changes of temper and behaviour. In the present times, changes so violent are unknown.

Conquest has not always the same effect upon the manners of the conquered. The Tartars who subdued China in the thirteenth century, adopted immediately the Chinese manners: the government, laws, customs, continued without variation. And the same happened, upon their second conquest of China in the seventeenth century. The barbarous nations also who crush'd the Roman empire, adopted the laws, customs, and manners, of the conquered. Very different was the fate of the Greek empire, when conquered by the Turks. That warlike nation introduced every where their own laws and manners: even at this day they continue a distinct people, as much as ever. The Tartars, as well as the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, were all of them rude and illiterate, destitute of laws, and ignorant

rant of government. Such nations readily adopt the laws and manners of a civilized people, whom they admire. The Turks had laws, and a regular government; and the Greeks, when subdued by them, were reduced by luxury and sensuality to be objects of contempt, not of imitation.

Manners are deeply affected by persecution. The forms of procedure in the Inquisition, enable the inquisitors to ruin whom they please. A person accused is not confronted with the accuser: every sort of accusation is welcome, and from every person: a child, a common prostitute, one branded with infamy, are reputable witnesses: a man is compelled to give evidence against his father, and a woman against her husband. Nay the persons accused are compelled to inform against themselves, by guessing what sin they may have been guilty of. Such odious, cruel, and tyrannical proceedings, made all Spain tremble: every man distrusted his neighbour, and even his own family: a total end was put to friendship, and to social freedom. Hence the gravity and reserve of a people, who have natu-

rally all the vivacity arising from a temperate clime and bountiful soil *. Hence the profound ignorance of that people, while other European nations are daily improving in every art and in every science. Human nature is reduced to its lowest state, when governed by superstition clothed with power.

We proceed to another capital article in the history of manners, viz. the selfish and social branches of our nature, by which manners are greatly influenced. Selfishness prevails among savages; because corporeal pleasures are its chief objects, and of these every savage is perfectly sensible. Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for a savage, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of blood. While artificial wants were unknown, selfishness made no figure: the means of gratifying the calls of nature were in plenty; and men who are not afraid of ever being in want, never think of providing against it;

* The populace of Spain, too low game for the inquisition, are abundantly chearful, perhaps more so than those of France. And I am credibly informed, that the Spanish women are perpetually dancing, singing, laughing, or talking.

and far less do they think of coveting what belongs to another. The Caribbeans, who know no wants but what nature inspires, are amazed at the industry of the Europeans in amassing wealth. Listen to one of them expostulating with a Frenchman in the following terms: “How miserable art thou, to expose thy person
“to tedious and dangerous voyages, and
“to suffer thyself to be oppressed with
“anxiety about futurity! An inordinate
“appetite for wealth is thy bane; and
“yet thou art no less tormented in preserving the goods thou hast acquired,
“than in acquiring more: fear of robbery or shipwreck suffers thee not to
“enjoy a quiet moment. Thus thou
“growest old in thy youth, thy hair turns
“gray, thy forehead is wrinkled, a thousand ailments afflict thy body, a thousand distresses surround thy heart, and
“thou movest with painful hurry to the
“grave. Why art thou not content with
“what thy own country produceth?
“Why not condemn superfluities, as we
“do?” But men are not long contented with simple necessities: an unwearied appetite to be more and more comfortably
provided,

provided, leads them from necessities to conveniencies, and from these to every sort of luxury. Avarice turns headstrong; and locks and bars, formerly unknown, become necessary to protect individuals from the rapacity of their neighbours. When the goods of fortune, money in particular, come to be prized, selfishness soon displays itself. In Madagascar, a man who makes a present of an ox or a calf, expects the value in return: and scruples not to say, “ You my friend, I
 “ your friend; you no my friend, I no
 “ your friend; I salamanca you, you fa-
 “ lamanca me (*a*).” Admiral Watson being introduced to the King of Baba, in Madagascar, was asked by his Majesty, what presents he had brought. Hence the custom, universal among barbarians, of always accosting a king, or any man of high rank, with presents. Sir John Chardin says, that this custom goes through all Asia. It is reckoned an honour to receive presents: they are received in public; and a time is chosen when the croud is greatest. It is a maxim too refined for the potentates of Asia, that there is more

(*a*) Salamanca means, the making a present.

honour in bestowing than in receiving.

The peculiar excellence of man above all other animals, is the capacity he has of improving by education and example. In proportion as his faculties refine, he acquires a relish for society; and finds a pleasure in benevolence, generosity, and in every other kindly affection, far above what selfishness can afford. How agreeable is this scene! Alas, too agreeable to last for ever. Opulence and luxury inflame the hording appetite; and selfishness at last prevails as it did originally. The selfishness however of savages differs from that of pampered people. Luxury, confining a man's whole views to himself, admits not of friendship, and scarce of any other social passion. But where a savage takes a liking to a particular person, the whole force of his social affection being directed to a single object, becomes extremely fervid. Hence the unexampled friendship between Achilles and Patroclus in the Iliad; and hence many such friendships among savages.

But there is much more to be said of the influence of opulence on manners. Rude and illiterate nations are tenacious
of

of their laws and manners; for they are governed by custom, which is more and more rivetted by length of time. A people, on the contrary, who are polished by having passed through various scenes, are full of invention, and constantly thinking of new modes. Manners in particular can never be stationary in a nation refined by prosperity and the arts of peace. Good government will advance men to a high degree of civilization; but the very best government will not preserve them from corruption, after becoming rich by prosperity. Opulence begets luxury, and enervates the appetite for sensual pleasure. The appetite, when inflamed, is never confined within moderate bounds, but clings to every object of gratification, without regard to propriety or decency. When Septimius Severus was elected Emperor, he found on the roll of causes depending before the judges in Rome no fewer than three thousand accusations of adultery. From that moment he abandoned all thoughts of a reformation. Love of pleasure is similar to love of money: the more it is indulged the more it is inflamed. Polygamy is an incentive to the

vice against nature ; one act of incontinence leading to others, without end. When the Sultan Achmet was deposed at Constantinople, the people, breaking into the house of one of his favourites, found not a single woman. It is reported of the Algerines, that in many of their seraglios there are no women. For the same reason, polygamy is far from preventing adultery, a truth finely illustrated in Nathan's parable to David. What judgement then are we to form of the opulent cities London and Paris, where pleasure is the ruling passion, and where riches are coveted as instruments of sensuality ? What is to be expected but a pestiferous corruption of manners ? Selfishness, ingrossing the whole soul, eradicates patriotism, and leaves not a cranny for social virtue. If in that condition men abstain from robbery or from murder, it is not love of justice that restrains them, but dread of punishment. Babylon is arraigned by Greek writers for luxury, sensuality, and profligacy. But Babylon represents the capital of every opulent kingdom, ancient and modern : the manners of all are the same ; for power and riches never fail to

produce luxury, sensuality, and profligacy *. Canghi Emperor of China, who died in the year 1722, deserves to be recorded in the annals of fame, for resisting the softness and effeminacy of an Asiatic court. Far from abandoning himself to sensual pleasure, he passed several months yearly in the mountains of Tartary, mostly on horseback, and declining no fatigue. Nor in that situation were affairs of state neglected: many hours he borrowed from sleep, to hear his ministers, and to issue orders. How few monarchs, bred up like Canghi in the downy indolence of a *seraglio*, have resolution to withstand the temptations of sensual pleasure!

In no other history is the influence of prosperity and opulence on manners so conspicuous, as in that of old Rome. During the second Punic war, when the Romans were reduced by Hannibal to fight *pro aris et focis*, Hiero King of Syracuse

* In Paris and London, people of fashion are incessantly running after pleasure, without ever attaining it. Dissatisfied with the present, they fondly imagine that a new pursuit will relieve them. Life thus passes like a dream, with no enjoyment but what arises from expectation.

sent to Rome a large quantity of corn, with a golden statue of victory weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, which the senate accepted. But tho' their finances were at the lowest ebb, they accepted but the lightest of forty golden vases presented to them by the city of Naples; and politely returned, with many thanks, some golden vases sent by the city of Pæstum, in Lucania: a rare instance of magnanimity. But no degree of virtue is proof against the corruption of conquest and opulence. Upon the influx of Asiatic riches and luxury, the Romans abandoned themselves to every vice: they became in particular wonderfully avaricious, breaking through every restraint of justice and humanity *. Spain in particular, which

* Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci, cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere. *Sallust. Bell. Cat. c. 12.*—[In English thus: "After
" it had become an honour to be rich, and glory,
" empire, and power, became the attendants of
" riches, virtue declined apace, poverty was reckon-
" ed disgraceful, and innocence was held secret ma-

which abounded with gold and silver, was for many years a scene, not only of oppression and cruelty, but of the basest treachery, practised against the natives by successive Roman generals, in order to accumulate wealth. Lucullus, who afterward made a capital figure in the Mithridatic war, attacked Cauca, a Celtiberian city, without the slightest provocation. Some of the principal citizens repaired to his camp with olive-branches, desiring to be informed upon what conditions they could purchase his friendship. It was agreed, that they should give hostages, with a hundred talents of silver. They also consented to admit a garrison of 2000 men, in order, said Lucullus, to protect them against their enemies. But how were they protected? The gates were opened by the garrison to the whole army; and the inhabitants were butchered, without distinction of sex or age. What other remedy had they, but to invoke the gods presiding over oaths and covenants, and to pour out execrations against the Romans

“lice. Thus to the introduction of riches our youth owe their luxury, their avarice, and pride.”]

for

for their perfidy? Lucullus, enriched with the spoils of the town, felt no remorse for leaving 20,000 persons dead upon the spot. Shortly after, having laid siege to Intercatia, he solicited a treaty of peace. The citizens, reproaching him with the slaughter of the Cauceans, asked, whether, in making peace, he was not to employ the same right hand, and the same faith, he had already pledged to their countrymen. Seroelius Galba, another Roman general, persuaded the Lusitanians to lay down their arms, promising them a fruitful territory instead of their own mountains; and having thus got them into his power, he ordered all of them to be murdered. Of the few that escaped, Viriatus was one, who, in a long and bloody war against the Romans, amply avenged the massacre of his countrymen. Our author Appian reports, that Galba, surpassing even Lucullus in covetousness, distributed but a small share of the plunder among the soldiers, converting the bulk of it to his own use. He adds, that tho' Galba was one of the richest men in Rome, yet he never scrupled at lies nor perjury to procure money. But the corruption was general: Galba
being

being accused of many misdemeanors, was acquitted by the senate through the force of bribes. A tribe of the Celtiberians, who had long served the Romans against the Lusitanians, had an offer made them by Titus Didius of a territory in their neighbourhood, lately conquered by him. He appointed them a day to receive possession ; and having inclosed them in his camp under shew of friendship, he put them all to the sword ; for which mighty deed he obtained the honour of a triumph. The double-dealing and treachery of the Romans, in their last war against Carthage, is beyond example. The Carthaginians, suspecting that a storm was gathering against them, sent deputies to Rome for securing peace at any rate. The senate, in appearance, were disposed to amicable measures, demanding only hostages ; and yet, tho' three hundred hostages were delivered without loss of time, the Roman army landed at Utica. The Carthaginian deputies attended the consuls there, desiring to know what more was to be done on their part. They were required to deliver up their arms ; which they chearfully did,

imagining

imagining that they were now certain of peace. Instead of which, they received peremptory orders to evacuate the city, with their wives and children; and to make no settlement within eighty furlongs of the sea. In perusing Appian's history of that memorable event, compassion for the distressed Carthaginians is stifled by indignation at their treacherous oppressors. Could the monsters after such treachery have the impudence to talk of *Punica fides*? The profligacy of the Roman people, during the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, is painted in lively colours by the same author. “ For a long
“ time, disorder and confusion overspread
“ the commonwealth: no office was ob-
“ tained but by faction, bribery, or cri-
“ minal service: no man was ashamed to
“ buy votes, which were sold in open
“ market. One man there was, who, to
“ obtain a lucrative office, expended eight
“ hundred talents (*a*): ill men enriched
“ themselves with public money, or with
“ bribes: no honest man would stand can-
“ didate for an office; and into a situation
“ so miserable was the commonwealth

(*a*) About L. 150,000 Sterling.

“ reduced,

“ reduced, that once for eight months it
 “ had not a single magistrate.” Cicero, writing to Atticus that Clodius was acquitted by the influence of Crassus, expresses himself in the following words. “ Biduo,
 “ per unum servum, et eum ex gladiatorio ludo, confecit totum negotium. Accersivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Jam vero, O dii boni, rem perditam ! etiam noctes certarum mulierum, atque adolescentulorum nobilium, introductiones nonnullis iudicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt * (a).” Ptolemy King of Egypt was dethroned by his subjects for tyranny. Having repaired to Rome for protection, he found means to poison the greater part of a hundred Egyptians, his accusers, and to assassinate Dion, their chief. And yet these crimes,

* “ In two days he completed the affair, by the means of one slave, a gladiator. He sent for him, and by promises, wheedling, and large gifts, he gain’d his point. Good God, to what an infamous height has corruption at length arrived ! Some judges were rewarded with a night’s lodging of certain ladies ; and others, for an illustrious bribe, had some young boys of Noble family introduced to them.”

(a) Lib. 1. epist. 13.

perpetrated in the heart of Rome, were suffered to pass with impunity. But he had secured the leading men by money, and was protected by Pompey. The following instance is, if possible, still more gross. Ptolomy, King of Cyprus, had always been a faithful ally to the Romans. But his gold, jewels, and precious moveables, were a tempting bait: and all was confiscated by a decree of the people, without even a pretext. Money procured by profligacy is not commonly hoarded up; and the Romans were no less voluptuous than avaricious. Alexander ab Alexandro mentions the Fanian, Orchian, Didian, Oppian, Cornelian, Ancian, and Julian laws, for repressing luxury of dress and of eating, all of which proved ineffectual. He adds, that Tiberius had it long at heart to contrive some effectual law against luxury, which now had surpassed all bounds; but that he found it impracticable to stem the tide. He concludes, that by tacit agreement among a corrupted people, all sumptuary laws were in effect abrogated; and that the Roman people, abandoning themselves to vice, broke through every restraint of morality and re-

ligion (a). Tremble, O Britain, on the brink of a precipice ! how little distant in rapacity from Roman senators are the leaders of thy people * !

Riches produce another lamentable effect : they enervate the possessor, and degrade him into a coward. He who commands the labour of others, who eats without hunger, and rests without fatigue,

* Down on your knees my countrymen, down on your knees, and render God thanks from the bottom of your hearts for a minister very different from his immediate predecessors. Untainted with luxury or avarice, his talents are dedicated to his King and his country. Nor was there ever a period in Britain when prudence and discernment in a minister were more necessary than in the present year 1775. Our colonies, pampered with prosperity, aim at no less than independence, and have broken out into every extravagance. The case is extremely delicate, it appearing equally dangerous to pardon or to punish. Hitherto the most salutary measures have been prosecuted ; and we have great reason to hope a happy issue, equally satisfactory to both parties. But tremble still, O Britain, on the brink of a precipice ! Our hold of that eminent minister is sadly precarious ; and in a nation as deeply sunk in selfishness as formerly it was exalted by patriotism, how small is our chance of a success equal to him !

(a) Lib. 3. cap. 11.

becomes

becomes feeble in mind as well as in body; has no confidence in his own abilities, and is reduced to flatter his enemies, because he hath not courage to brave them.

Selfishness among the rude and illiterate is rough, blunt, and undisguised. Selfishness, which in an opulent kingdom usurps the place of patriotism, is smooth, refined, and covered with a veil. Pecuniary interest, a low object, must be covered with the thickest veil: ambition, less dishonourable, is less covered: but delicacy as to character and love of fame, are so honourable, that even the thinnest veil is held unnecessary. History justifies these observations. During the prosperity of Greece and Rome, when patriotism was the ruling passion, no man ever thought of employing a hostile weapon but against the enemies of his country: swords were not worn during peace, nor was there an instance of a private duel. The frequency of duels in modern times is no slight symptom of degeneracy: regardless of our country, selfishness is exerted without disguise when reputation or character is in question; and a nice sense of honour prompts revenge for every imagined af-

front, without regard to justice. How much more manly and patriotic was the behaviour of Themistocles, when insulted by the Lacedemonian general in deliberating about the concerns of Greece! "Strike," says he, "but first hear me*." When

* Is duelling a crime by the law of nature? A distinction is necessary. If two men, bent to destroy each of them the other, meet armed, and one or both be slain, the act is highly criminal: it is murder in the strictest sense of the word. If they appoint time and place to execute their murderous purpose, such agreement will not be more innocent than an agreement among a band of robbers to attack every passenger: they will be abhorred as unfit for civil society. A duel which an affront forces a man upon for vindicating his honour, when no satisfaction is offered, or no proper satisfaction, is very different. I cannot see that the person affronted is guilty of any crime; and if the person who gave the affront have offered what he thinks full satisfaction, I see no crime on either side. The parties have agreed to decide their quarrel in the honourable way; and no other person is hurt. If it be urged, that duelling is a crime against the state, which is interested in the lives of its subjects; I answer, that individuals are intitled to be protected by the state; but that if two men, waving that protection, agree to end the dispute by single combat, the state has no concern. There is nothing inconsistent with the laws of society, that men in an
 affair

When a nation, formerly in prosperity, is depressed by luxury and selfishness, what follows next? Let the Egyptians answer

affair of honour should reserve the privilege of a duel; and for that reason, the privilege may be justly understood as reserved by every man when he enters into society. I admit that the using the privilege on every slight occasion, cannot be too much discouraged; but such discouragement, if duelling be not criminal, belongs to a court of police not to a court of law. What then shall be said of our statutes, which punish with death and confiscation of moveables those who fight a single combat without the King's licence; and which punish even the giving or accepting a challenge with banishment and confiscation of moveables? Where a man thinks his honour at stake, fear of death will not deter him from seeking redress: nor is an alternative left him, as the bearing a gross affront is highly dishonourable in the opinion of all the world. Have we not instances without number of men adhering to the supposed orthodoxy of their religious tenets, unawed by flames and gibbets? How absurd then is it in our legislature, to punish a man for doing what is indispensable if he wish to avoid contempt? Laws that contradict honest principles or even honest prejudices, never are effectual: nature revolts against them. And it is believ'd that these statutes have never been effectual in any one instance, unless perhaps to furnish an excuse for declining a single combat.

As duelling falls under censorian powers, the proper

swer the question. That unhappy people, having for many ages been a prey to every barbarous invader, are now become effeminate,

proper censure for rashness or intemperance in duelling, is disgrace, not death or confiscation of moveables. In that view the following or some such plan ought to be adopted by parliament. Where a man suffers an affront so gross as in his opinion to require a duel, I take a hint from the statute first mentioned; which is an application to his Majesty to authorise a duel. In Britain formerly and through all Europe, single combat was a legal method of determining controversies even in matters of right and wrong; and there is great reason for continuing that law, with respect to matters of honour. If the King have any doubt whether other reparation may not be sufficient, he is to name three military officers who have served with honour for twenty years; granting to them full powers as a court of honour to judge of the application; and upon calling the parties before them to pronounce sentence. If a duel be judged necessary, it must be done in presence of the court, with proper solemnities. Obedience will of course be given to this judgement; because to decline it would be attended with public infamy. If other reparation be enjoined, the party who stands out shall be declared infamous, unworthy for ever of the privilege of a duel; which ought to satisfy the other party, as he comes off with honour. If, notwithstanding the prohibition of the court, they afterward proceed to a duel and both be killed, the public gains by having two quarrelsome men

minate, treacherous, cruel, and corrupted with every vice that debases humanity. A nation in its infancy, however savage, is susceptible of every improvement; but a nation worn out with age and disease, is susceptible of no improvement. There is no remedy, but to let the natives die

men removed out of the way. If one of them be killed, the survivor shall be incapable of any public office, civil or military, shall be incapable of electing or being elected a member of parliament, shall be prohibited to wear a sword, shall forfeit his title of honour, and have his arms erased out of the herald's register. If both survive, this censure shall reach both. Degrading censures which disgrace a man, are the only proper punishment in an affair of honour. The transgression of the act of parliament by fighting privately without licence from the King, shall be attended with the same degrading punishments.

I lay great weight upon the court of honour having power to authorise a duel. A man grossly affronted will not be easily persuaded to submit his cause to a court that cannot decree him adequate reparation; and this probably is the cause, why the court of honour in France has fallen into contempt. But they must be perverse indeed or horribly obstinate, who decline a court which can decree them ample reparation. At the same time, the necessity of applying for a court of honour, affords time for passion to subside, and for friends to bring about a reconciliation.

out,

out, and to repeople the country with better men. Egypt has for many ages been in the same languid and servile state. An Arabian author, who wrote the history of the great Saladin, observes, that the Egyptians never thought of supporting the monarch in possession, but tamely submitted to every conqueror. “It was,” says he, the custom in Egypt at that time to deliver to the victor the ensigns of royalty, without ever thinking of enquiring into his title.” What better than a flock of sheep, obedient to the call of the present shepherd !

I fly from a scene so dismal to one that will give no pain. Light is intended by our Maker for action, and darkness for rest. In the fourteenth century, the shops in Paris were opened at four in the morning : at present, a shopkeeper is scarce awake at seven. The King of France dined at eight in the morning, and retired to his bedchamber at the same hour in the evening ; an early hour at present for public amusements *. The Spaniards ad-
here

* Louis XII. of France after taking for his second wife Mary sister to Henry VIII. of England,
much

here to ancient customs *. Their King to this day dines precisely at noon, and sups no less precisely at nine in the evening. During the reign of Henry VIII, fashionable people in England breakfasted at seven in the morning, and dined at ten in the forenoon. In Elizabeth's time, the nobility, gentry, and students, dined at eleven forenoon, and supped between five and six afternoon. In the reign of Charles II, four in the afternoon was the appointed hour for acting plays. At present, even dinner is at a later hour. The King of Yeman, the greatest prince in Arabia Fœlix, dines at nine in the morning, sups at five after noon, and goes to rest at eleven. From this short specimen it appears, that the occupations of day-light commence gradually later and later; as if there were a tendency in polite nations, of converting night into day, and day into

much under him in years, totally changed his manner of living. Instead of dining at eight in the morning, he now dined at mid-day: instead of going to bed at six in the evening, he now frequently sat up till midnight.

* Manners and fashions seldom change where women are locked up.

night. Nothing happens without a cause. Light disposes to action, darkness to rest : the diversions of day are tournaments, tennis, hunting, racing, and other active exercises : the diversions of night are sedentary ; plays, cards, conversation. Balls are of a mixed nature, partly active in dancing, partly sedentary in conversing. Formerly, active exercises prevailed among a robust and plain people* : the milder pleasures of society prevail as manners refine. Hence it is, that candle-light amusements are now fashionable in France, and in other polished countries ; and when such amusements are much relished, they banish the robust exercises of the field. Balls, I conjecture, were formerly more frequent in day-light : at present, candle-light is their favourite time : the active part is at that time equally agreeable ; and the sedentary part, more so.

Gaming is the vice of idle people. Savages are addicted to gaming ; and those of North America in particular, are fond

* The exercises that our forefathers delighted in were so violent as that in the days of Henry II. of England cock-fighting and horse-racing were despised as unmanly and childish amusements.

to distraction of a game termed *the platter*. A losing gamester will strip himself to the skin; and some have been known to stake their liberty, tho' by them valued above all other blessings. Negroes in the slave-coast of Guinea, will stake their wives, their children, and even themselves. Tacitus (*a*), talking of gaming among the Germans, says, "Extremo ac novissimo
" jactu, de libertate et de corpore conten-
" dant *." The Greeks were an active and sprightly people, constantly engaged in war, or in cultivating the fine arts. They had no leisure for gaming, nor any knowledge of it. Happy for them was their ignorance; for no other vice tends more to render men selfish, dishonest, and, in the modish style, dishonourable. A gamester, a friend to no man, is a bitter enemy to himself. The luxurious of the present age, pass every hour in gaming that can be spared from sensual pleasure. Idleness is their excuse, as it is among savages; and they would in some degree

* " For their last throw they stake their liberty
" and life."

(a) De moribus Germanorum, c. 24.

be excusable, were they never actuated by a more disgraceful motive.

Writers do not carefully distinguish particular customs from general manners. Formerly, women were not admitted upon the stage in France, Italy, or England : at that very time, none but women were admitted in Spain. From that fashion it would be rash to infer, that women have more liberty in Spain than in the other countries mentioned ; for the contrary is true. In Hindostan, established custom prompts women to burn themselves alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands ; but from that singular custom, it would be a false inference, that the Hindow women are either more bold, or more affectionate to their husbands, than in other countries. The Polanders, even after they became Christians in the thirteenth century, adhered to the customs of their forefathers, the Sarmatians, in killing infants born deformed, and men debilitated by age ; which would betoken horrid barbarity, if it were not a singular custom. Roman Catholics imagine, that there is no religion in England nor in Holland ; because, from a spirit of civil liberty,

ty, all sects are there tolerated. The encouragement given to assassination in Italy, where every church is a sanctuary, makes strangers rashly infer, that the Italians are all assassins. Writers sometimes fall into an opposite mistake, attributing to a particular nation, certain manners and customs common to all nations in one or other period of their progress. It is remarked by Heraclides Ponticus as peculiar to the Athamanes, that the men fed the flocks, and the women cultivated the ground. This has been the practice of all nations, in their progress from the shepherd-state to that of husbandry; and is at present the practice among American savages. The same author observes as peculiar to the Celtæ and Aphitæi, that they leave their doors open without hazard of theft. But that practice is common among all savages in the first stage of society, before the use of money is known.

Hitherto there appears as great uniformity in the progress of manners, as can reasonably be expected among so many different nations. There is one exception, extraordinary indeed if true, which is, the manners of the Caledonians described by Ossian,

Offian, manners so pure and refined as scarce to be paralleled in the most cultivated nations. Such manners among a people in the first stage of society, acquainted with no arts but hunting and making war, would, I acknowledge, be miraculous. And yet to suppose these manners to be the invention of an illiterate savage, is really not less miraculous: I should as soon expect from a savage a performance equal to the elements of Euclid, or even to the *Principia* of Newton. One, at first view, will boldly declare the whole a modern fiction; for how is it credible, that a people, rude at present and illiterate, were, in the infancy of their society, highly refined in sentiment and manners? And yet upon a more accurate inspection, many weighty considerations occur to balance that opinion.

From a thousand circumstances it appears, that the works of Offian are not a late production. They are composed in an old dialect of the Celtic tongue; and as, till lately, they were known only in the highlands of Scotland, the author must have been a Caledonian. The translator (a)

(a) Mr Macpherson.

saw in the Isle of Sky, the first four books of the poem Fingal, written in a fair hand on vellum, and bearing date in the year 1403. The natives believe that poem to be very ancient: every person has passages of it by heart, transmitted by memory from their forefathers. Their dogs bear commonly the name of *Luath*, *Bran*, &c. mentioned in these poems, as our dogs do of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* *. Many other particulars might be mentioned; but these are sufficient to prove, that the work must have existed at least three or four centuries. Taking that for granted, I proceed to certain considerations tending to evince, that the manners described in Ossian were Caledonian manners, and not a pure fiction. And after perusing with attention these considerations, I am not afraid that even the most incredulous will continue altogether unshaken.

* In the Isle of Sky, the ruins of the castle of Dunscailh upon an abrupt rock hanging over the sea, are still visible. That castle, as vouched by tradition, belonged to Cuchullin Lord of that Isle, whose history is recorded in the Poem of Fingal. Upon the green before the castle there is a great stone, to which, according to the same tradition, his dog *Luath* was chained.

It

It is a noted and well-founded observation, That manners are never painted to the life by any one to whom they are not familiar. It is not difficult to draw the outlines of imaginary manners; but to fill up the picture with all the variety of tints that manners assume in different circumstances, uniting all concordantly in one whole,—*hic labor, hoc opus est*. Yet the manners here supposed to be invented, are delineated in a variety of incidents, of sentiments, of images, and of allusions, making one entire picture, without once deviating into the slightest incongruity. Every scene in Ossian relates to hunting, to fighting, or to love, the sole occupations of men in the original state of society: there is not a single image, simile, or allusion, but what is borrowed from that state, without a jarring circumstance. Supposing all to be mere invention, is it not amazing to find no mention of highland clans, or of any name now in use? Is it not still more amazing, that there is not the slightest hint of the Christian religion, not even in a metaphor or allusion? Is it not equally amazing, that in a work where deer's flesh is frequently mentioned,

and a curious method of roasting it, there should not be a word of fish as food, so common in later times? Very few highlanders know that their forefathers did not eat fish; and supposing it to be known, it would require singular attention, never to let a hint of it enter the poem. Can it be supposed, that a modern writer could be so constantly on his guard, as never to mention corn nor cattle? In a story so scanty of poetical images, the sedentary life of a shepherd, and the industry of a husbandman, would make a capital figure: the cloven foot would somewhere peep out. And yet in all the works of Ossian, there is no mention of agriculture; and but a slight hint of a herd of cattle in one or two allusions. I willingly give all advantages to the unbeliever: Supposing the author of Ossian to be a late writer, adorned with every refinement of modern education; yet even upon that supposition he is a miracle, far from being equalled by any other author ancient or modern.

But difficulties multiply when it is taken into the account, that the poems of Ossian have existed three or four centuries at least. Our highlanders at present are

rude and illiterate ; and were in fact little better than savages at the period mentioned. Now, to hold the manners described in that work to be imaginary, is in effect to hold, that they were invented by a highland savage, acquainted with the rude manners of his country, but utterly unacquainted with every other system of manners. The manners of different countries are now so well known as to make it an easy task to invent manners by blending manners of one country with those of another ; but to invent manners of which the author has no example, and yet neither whimsical nor absurd, but congruous to human nature in its most polished state, I pronounce to be far above the powers of man. Is it so much as supposable, that such a work could be the production of a Tartar, or of a Hottentot ? From what source then did Ossian draw the refined manners so deliciously painted by him ? Supposing him to have been a traveller, of which we have not the slightest hint, the manners at that period of France, of Italy, and of other neighbouring nations, were little less barbarous than those of his own country. I can discover no source
but

but inspiration. In a word, whoever seriously believes the manners of Ossian to be fictitious, may well say, with the religious enthusiast, *Credo quia impossibile est*: I believe it because it is impossible.

But further: The uncommon talents of the author of this work will cheerfully be acknowledged by every reader of taste: he certainly was a great master in his way. Now, whether the work be late, or composed four centuries ago, a man of such talents inventing a historical fable, and laying the scene of action among savages in the hunter-state, would naturally frame a system of manners the best suited in his opinion to that state. What then could tempt him to adopt a system of manners, so opposite to any notion he could form of savage manners? The absurdity is so gross, that we are forc'd, however reluctantly, to believe, that these manners are not fictitious, but in reality the manners of his country, coloured perhaps, or a little heightened, according to the privilege of an epic poet. And once admitting that fact, there can be no hesitation in ascribing the work to Ossian, son of Fingal,

whose name it bears: we have no better evidence for the authors of several Greek and Roman books. Upon the same evidence we must believe, that Ossian lived in the reign of the Emperor Caracalla, of whom frequent mention is made under the designation of *Caracul the Great King*; at which period, the shepherd-state was scarce known in Caledonia, and husbandry not at all. Had he lived so late as the twelfth century, when there were flocks and herds in that country, and some sort of agriculture, a poet of genius, such as Ossian undoubtedly was, would have drawn from these his finest images.

The foregoing considerations, I am persuaded, would not fail to convert the most incredulous; were it not for a consequence extremely improbable, that a people, little better at present than savages, were in their primitive hunter-state highly refined; for such Ossian describes them. And yet it is no less improbable, that such manners should be invented by an illiterate highland bard. Let a man chuse either side, the difficulty cannot be solved but by a sort of miracle. What shall we conclude upon the whole? for the mind cannot for
ever

ever remain in suspense. As dry reasoning has left us in a dilemma, taste perhaps and feeling may extricate us. May not the case be here as in real painting? A portrait drawn from fancy, may resemble the human visage; but such peculiarity of countenance and expression as serves to distinguish a certain person from every other, is always wanting. Present a portrait to a man of taste, and he will be at no loss to say, whether it be copied from life, or be the product of fancy. If Ossian paint from fancy, the cloven foot will appear: but if his portraits be complete, so as to express every peculiarity of character, why should we doubt of their being copied from life? In that view, the reader, I am hopeful, will not think his time thrown away in examining some of Ossian's striking pictures. I see not another resource.

Love of fame is painted by Ossian as the ruling passion of his countrymen the Caledonians. Warriors are every where described, as esteeming it their chief happiness to be recorded in the songs of the bards: that feature is never wanting in
any

any of Ossian's heroes. Take the following instances.

“ King of the roaring Strumon, said the rising
 “ joy of Fingal, do I behold thee in arms after thy
 “ strength has failed? Often hath Morni shone
 “ in battles, like the beam of the rising sun, when
 “ he disperses the storms of the hill, and brings
 “ peace to the glittering fields. But why didst thou
 “ not rest in thine age? Thy renown is in the
 “ song: the people behold thee, and bless the de-
 “ parture of mighty Morni (a).” “ Son of Fingal,
 “ he said, why burns the soul of Gaul? My heart
 “ beats high: my steps are disordered; and my
 “ hand trembles on my sword. When I look to-
 “ ward the foe, my soul lightens before me, and I
 “ see their sleeping host. Tremble thus the souls
 “ of the valiant, in battles of the spear? How
 “ would the soul of Morni rise, if we should rush
 “ on the foe! Our renown would grow in the
 “ song, and our steps be stately in the eye of the
 “ brave * (b).”

* Love of fame is a laudable passion, which every man values himself upon. Fame in war is acquired by courage and candour, which are esteemed by all. It is not acquired by fighting for spoil, because avarice is despised by all. The spoils of an enemy were display'd at a Roman triumph, not for their own sake, but as a mark of victory. When nations at war degenerate from love of fame to love of gain, stratagem, deceit, breach of faith, and every sort of immorality, are never-failing consequences.

(a) Lathmon.

(b) Lathmon.

That

That a warrior has acquired his fame is
a consolation in every distress :

“ Carril, said the King in secret, the strength of
“ Cuchullin fails. My days are with the years that
“ are past ; and no morning of mine shall arise.
“ They shall seek me at Temora, but I shall not be
“ found. Cormac will weep in his hall, and say,
“ Where is Tura’s chief ? But my name is re-
“ nowned, my fame in the song of bards. The
“ youth will say, *O let me die as Cuchullin died : re-
“ nown clothed him like a robe ; and the light of his
“ fame is great.* Draw the arrow from my side ; and
“ lay Cuchullin below that oak. Place the shield
“ of Caithbat near, that they may behold me amid
“ the arms of my fathers (a).”

Fingal speaks :

“ Ullin, my aged bard, take the ship of the
“ King. Carry Oscar to Selma, and let the daugh-
“ ters of Morven weep. We shall fight in Erin for
“ the race of fallen Cormac. The days of my years
“ begin to fail : I feel the weakness of my arm.
“ My fathers bend from their clouds to receive their
“ gray-hair’d son. But, Trenmore ! before I go
“ hence, one beam of my fame shall rise : in fame
“ shall my days end, as my years begun : my life
“ shall be one stream of light to other times (b).”

Offian speaks :

“ Did thy beauty last, O Ryno ! flood the strength ”

(a) The death of Cuchullin.

(b) Temora.

“ of car-borne Oscar *! Fingal himself passed a-
 “ way, and the halls of his fathers forgot his steps.
 “ And shalt thou remain, aged bard, when the
 “ mighty have failed? But my fame shall remain;
 “ and grow like the oak of Morven, which lifts its
 “ broad head to the storm, and rejoiceth in the
 “ course of the wind (a).”

The chief cause of affliction when a young man is cut off in battle, is his not having received his fame :

“ And fell the swiftest in the race, said the King,
 “ the first to bend the bow? Thou scarce hast been
 “ known to me; why did young Ryno fall? But
 “ sleep thou softly on Lena, Fingal shall soon be-
 “ hold thee. Soon shall my voice be heard no
 “ more, and my footsteps cease to be seen. The
 “ bards will tell of Fingal’s name; the stones will
 “ talk of me. But, Ryno! thou art low indeed,
 “ thou hast not received thy fame. Ullin, strike
 “ the harp for Ryno; tell what the chief would
 “ have been. Farewell thou first in every field.
 “ No more shall I direct thy dart. Thou that hast
 “ been so fair; I behold thee not.—Farewell (b).”

* Several of Ossian’s heroes are described as fighting in cars. The Britons in general fought in that manner. *Britanni dimicant non equitatu modo, aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus. Pomponius Mela, l. 3.* — [In English thus: “ The Britons fight, not only with cavalry, or foot, but also with cars and chariots.”]

(a) Berrathon.

(b) Fingal.

" Calthoſon ruſhed into the ſtream : I bounded for-
 " ward on my ſpear : Teutha's race fell before us :
 " night came rolling down. Dunthalmo reſted on
 " a rock, amidſt an aged wood : the rage of his
 " boſom burned againſt the car-borne Calthoſon.
 " But Calthoſon ſtood in his grief ; he mourned the
 " fallen Colmar ; Colmar ſlain in youth, before
 " his fame aroſe (a)."

Lamentation for loſs of fame. Cuchul-
lin ſpeaks :

" But, O ye ghoſts of the lonely Cromla ! ye ſouls
 " of chiefs that are no more ! be ye the companions
 " of Cuchullin, and talk to him in the cave of his
 " ſorrow. For never more ſhall I be renowned a-
 " mong the mighty in the land. I am like a beam
 " that has ſhone ; like a miſt that fled away when
 " the blaſt of the morning came, and brightened
 " the ſhaggy ſide of the hill. Connal, talk of arms
 " no more ; departed is my fame. My ſighs ſhall
 " be on Cromla's wind, till my footſteps ceaſe to
 " be ſeen. And thou white boſom'd Bragéla,
 " mourn over the fall of my fame ; for, vanquiſhed,
 " never will I return to thee, thou ſun-beam of
 " Dunſcaich (b)."

Love of fame begets heroic actions,
which go hand in hand with elevated ſen-
timents : of the former there are examples
in every page ; of the latter take the fol-
lowing examples.

" And let him come, replied the King. I love a

(a) Calthoſon and Colmar.

(b) Fingal.

“ foe like Cathmor : his soul is great ; his arm
 “ strong ; and his battles full of fame. But the
 “ little soul is like a vapour that hovers round the
 “ marshy lake, which never rises on the green hill,
 “ lest the winds meet it there (a).”

Offian speaks :

“ But let us fly, son of Morni, Lathmon descends
 “ the hill. Then let our steps be slow, replied the
 “ fair-hair’d Gaul, lest the foe say with a smile,
 “ Behold the warriors of night : they are like
 “ ghosts, terrible in darkness ; but they melt away
 “ before the beam of the East (b).” “ Son of the
 “ feeble hand, said Lathmon, shall my host de-
 “ scend ! They are but two, and shall a thousand
 “ lift their steel ! Nuah would mourn in his hall
 “ for the departure of Lathmon’s fame : his eyes
 “ would turn from Lathmon, when the tread of
 “ his feet approached. Go thou to the heroes,
 “ son of Dutha, for I behold the stately steps of
 “ Offian. His fame is worthy of my steel : let him
 “ fight with Lathmon (c).” “ Fingal does not de-
 “ light in battle, tho’ his arm is strong. My re-
 “ nown grows on the fall of the haughty : the
 “ lightning of my steel pours on the proud in arms.
 “ The battle comes ; and the tombs of the valiant
 “ rise ; the tombs of my people rise, O my fathers !
 “ and I at last must remain alone. But I will re-
 “ main renowned, and the departure of my soul
 “ shall be one stream of light (d).” “ I raised my
 “ voice for Fovar-gormo, when they laid the chief
 “ in earth. The aged Crothar was there, but his
 “ sigh was not heard. He searched for the wound
 “ of his son, and found it in his breast : joy rose in

(a) Lathmon.

(b) Lathmon.

(c) Lathmon.

(d) Lathmon.

“ the

“ the face of the aged : he came and spoke to Of-
 “ fian : King of spears, my son hath not fallen
 “ without his fame : the young warrior did not
 “ fly, but met death as he went forward in his
 “ strength. Happy are they who die in youth,
 “ when their renown is heard : their memory shall
 “ be honoured in the song ; the young tear of the
 “ virgin falls (a).” “ Cuchullin kindled at the
 “ fight, and darkness gathered on his brow. His
 “ hand was on the sword of his fathers : his red-
 “ rolling eye on the foe. He thrice attempted to
 “ rush to battle, and thrice did Connal stop him.
 “ Chief of the isle of mist, he said, Fingal subdues
 “ the foe : seek not a part of the fame of the
 “ King (b).”

The pictures that Ossian draws of his
 countrymen, are no less remarkable for
 tender sentiments, than for elevation. Pa-
 rental affection is finely touched in the
 following passage.

“ Son of Comhal, replied the chief, the strength
 “ of Morni’s arm has failed. I attempt to draw the
 “ sword of my youth, but it remains in its place : I
 “ throw the spear, but it falls short of the mark ;
 “ and I feel the weight of my shield. We decay
 “ like the grass of the mountain, and our strength
 “ returns no more. I have a son, O Fingal ! his
 “ soul has delighted in the actions of Morni’s
 “ youth ; but his sword has not been lifted against
 “ the foe, neither has his fame begun. I come with
 “ him to battle, to direct his arm. His renown

(a) Croma.

(b) Fingal.

3 I 2

“ will

“ will be a fun to my soul, in the dark hour of my
 “ departure. O that the name of Morni were for-
 “ got among the people, that the heroes would
 “ only say, Behold the father of Gaul (a) !”

And no less finely touched is grief for
 the loss of children :

“ We saw Oscar leaning on his shield : we saw his
 “ blood around Silence darkened on the face of
 “ every hero : each turned his back and wept. The
 “ King strove to hide his tears. He bends his head
 “ over his son ; and his words are mixed with sighs.
 “ And art thou fallen, Oscar, in the midst of thy
 “ course ! The heart of the aged beats over thee.
 “ I see thy coming battles : I behold the battles
 “ that ought to come, but they are cut off from thy
 “ fame. When shall joy dwell at Selma ? when
 “ shall the song of grief cease on Morven ? My
 “ sons fall by degrees, Fingal will be the last of his
 “ race. The fame I have received shall pass away :
 “ my age shall be without friends. I shall sit like a
 “ grey cloud in my hall : nor shall I expect the re-
 “ turn of a son with his sounding arms. Weep, ye
 “ heroes of Morven ; never more will Oscar
 “ rise (b).”

Crothar speaks.

“ Son of Fingal ! dost thou not behold the dark-
 “ ness of Crothar’s hall of shells ? My soul was not
 “ dark at the feast, when my people lived. I re-
 “ joiced in the presence of strangers, when my
 “ son shone in the hall. But, Ossian, he is a beam

(a) Lathmon.

(b) Temora.

“ that

“ that is departed, and left no streak of light behind. He is fallen, son of Fingal, in the battles of his father. — Rothmar, the chief of grassy Tromlo, heard that my eyes had failed; he heard that my arms were fixed in the hall, and the pride of his soul arose. He came toward Croma; my people fell before him. I took my arms in the hall; but what could fightless Crothar do? My steps were unequal; my grief was great. I wished for the days that were past, days wherein I fought and won in the field of blood. My son returned from the chace, the fair-hair’d Fovar-gormo. He had not lifted his sword in battle, for his arm was young. But the soul of the youth was great; the fire of valour burnt in his eyes. He saw the disordered steps of his father, and his sigh arose. King of Croma, he said, is it because thou hast no son; is it for the weakness of Fovar-gormo’s arm that thy sighs arise? I begin, my father, to feel the strength of my arm; I have drawn the sword of my youth; and I have bent the bow. Let me meet this Rothmar with the youths of Croma: let me meet him, O my father; for I feel my burning soul. And thou shalt meet him, I said, son of the fightless Crothar! But let others advance before thee, that I may hear the tread of thy feet at thy return; for my eyes behold thee not, fair-hair’d Fovar-gormo! — He went, he met the foe; he fell. The foe advances toward Croma. He who slew my son is near, with all his pointed spears (a).”

The following sentiments about the shortness of human life are pathetic.

(a) Croma.

“ Desolate

" Desolate is the dwelling of Moina, silence in
 " the house of her fathers. Raise the song of
 " mourning over the strangers. One day we must
 " fall; and they have only fallen before us. —
 " Why dost thou build the hall, son of the winged
 " days! Thou lookest from thy towers to day:
 " soon will the blast of the desert come. It howls
 " in thy empty court, and whistles over thy half-
 " worn shield (a)." " How long shall we weep on
 " Lena, or pour our tears in Ullin! The mighty
 " will not return; nor Oscar rise in his strength:
 " the valiant must fall one day, and be no more
 " known. Where are our fathers, O warriors,
 " the chiefs of the times of old! They are set, like
 " stars that have shone: we only hear the sound of
 " their praise. But they were renowned in their
 " day, and the terror of other times. Thus shall
 " we pass, O warriors, in the day of our fall. Then
 " let us be renowned while we may; and leave our
 " fame behind us, like the last beams of the sun,
 " when he hides his red head in the west (b)."

In Homer's time, heroes were greedy of
 plunder; and, like robbers, were much
 disposed to insult a vanquished foe. Ac-
 cording to Ossian, the ancient Caledoni-
 ans had no idea of plunder: and as they
 fought for fame only, their humanity o-
 verflow'd to the vanquished. American
 savages, it is true, are not addicted to
 plunder, and are ready to bestow on the

(a) Carthou.

(b) Temora.

first

first comer what trifles they force from the enemy. But they have no notion of a pitched battle, nor of single combat: on the contrary, they value themselves upon slaughtering their enemies by surprise, without risking their own sweet persons. Agreeable to the magnanimous character given by Ossian of his countrymen, we find humanity blended with courage in all their actions.

“ Fingal pitied the white-armed maid : he stayed
“ the uplifted sword. The tear was in the eye of
“ the King, as bending forward he spoke : King of
“ streamy Sora, fear not the sword of Fingal : it
“ was never stained with the blood of the van-
“ quished ; it never pierced a fallen foe. Let thy
“ people rejoice along the blue waters of Tora :
“ let the maids of thy love be glad. Why should’st
“ thou fall in thy youth, King of streamy Sora (a) !”

Fingal speaks :

“ Son of my strength, he said, take the spear of
“ Fingal : go to Teutha’s mighty stream, and save
“ the car-borne Colmar. Let thy fame return, be-
“ fore thee like a pleasant gale ; that my soul may
“ rejoice over my son, who renews the renown of
“ our fathers. Ossian ! be thou a storm in battle,
“ but mild where the foes are low. It was thus
“ my fame arose, O my son ; and be thou like Sel-
“ ma’s chief. When the haughty come to my hall,

(a) Carric-thura.

“ my

“ my eyes behold them not ; but my arm is stretch-
 “ ed forth to the unhappy, my sword defends the
 “ weak (a).” “ O Oscar ! bend the strong in arm,
 “ but spare the feeble hand. Be thou a stream of
 “ many tides against the foes of thy people, but like
 “ the gale that moves the grass to those who ask
 “ thy aid. Never search for the battle, nor shun
 “ it when it comes. So Trenmor lived ; such
 “ Trathal was ; and such has Fingal been. My
 “ arm was the support of the injured ; and the
 “ weak rested behind the lightning of my steel (b).”

Humanity to the vanquished is display'd
 in the following passages. After defeating
 in battle Swaran King of Lochlin, Fingal
 says,

“ Raise, Ullin, raise the song of peace, and soothe
 “ my soul after battle, that my ear may forget the
 “ noise of arms. And let a hundred harps be near
 “ to gladden the King of Lochlin : he must depart
 “ from us with joy : none ever went sad from Fin-
 “ gal. Oscar, the lightning of my sword is against
 “ the strong ; but peaceful it hangs by my side when
 “ warriors yield in battle (c)” “ Uthal fell beneath
 “ my sword, and the sons of Berrathon fled. It
 “ was then I saw him in his beauty, and the tear
 “ hung in my eye. Thou art fallen, young tree, I
 “ said, with all thy budding beauties round thee.
 “ The winds come from the desert, and there is no
 “ sound in thy leaves. Lovely art thou in death,
 “ son of car-borne Lathmor (d).”

(a) Calthon and Colmal.

(b) Fingal, book 3.

(c) Fingal, book 6.

(d) Berrathon.

After perusing these quotations, it will not be thought that Ossian deviates from the manners represented by him, in describing the hospitality of his chieftains :

“ We heard the voice of joy on the coast, and
“ we thought that the mighty Cathmor came ;
“ Cathmor, the friend of strangers, the brother
“ of red-hair’d Cairbar. But their souls were
“ not the same ; for the light of heaven was in
“ the bosom of Cathmor. His towers rose on
“ the banks of Atha : seven paths led to his hall :
“ seven chiefs stood on these paths, and called the
“ stranger to the feast. But Cathmor dwelt in the
“ wood, to avoid the voice of praise (a).” “ Rath-
“ mor was a chief of Clutha. The feeble dwelt in
“ his hall. The gates of Rathmor were never clo-
“ sed : his feast was always spread. The sons of
“ the stranger came, and blessed the generous chief
“ of Clutha. Bards raised the song, and touched
“ the harp : joy brightened on the face of the
“ mournful. Dunthalmo came in his pride, and
“ rushed into combat with Rathmor. The chief
“ of Clutha overcame. The rage of Dunthalmo
“ rose : he came by night with his warriors ; and
“ the mighty Rathmor fell : he fell in his hall,
“ where his feast had been often spread for stran-
“ gers (b).”

It seems not to exceed the magnanimity of his chieftains, intent upon glory only,

(a) Temora.

(b) Calthon and Colmal.

to feast even their enemies before a battle. Cuchullin, after the first day's engagement with Swaran, King of Lochlin or Scandinavia, says to Carril, one of his bards,

“ Is this feast spread for me alone, and the King
 “ of Lochlin on Ullin's shore ; far from the deer
 “ of his hills, and sounding halls of his feasts ?
 “ Rise, Carril of other times, and carry my words
 “ to Swaran ; tell him from the roaring of waters,
 “ that Cuchullin gives his feast. Here let him listen
 “ to the sound of my groves amid the clouds of
 “ night : for cold and bleak the blustering winds
 “ rush over the foam of his seas. Here let him
 “ praise the trembling harp, and hear the songs of
 “ heroes (a).”

The Scandinavian King, less polished, refused the invitation. Cairbar speaks :

“ Spread the feast on Lena, and let my hundred
 “ bards attend. And thou, red-hair'd Olla, take
 “ the harp of the King. Go to Oscar, King of
 “ swords, and bid him to our feast. To-day we
 “ feast and hear the song ; to-morrow break the
 “ spears (b).” “ Olla came with his songs. Oscar
 “ went to Cairbar's feast. Three hundred heroes
 “ attend the chief, and the clang of their arms is
 “ terrible. The gray dogs bound on the heath,
 “ and their howling is frequent. Fingal saw the

(a) Fingal, book 1.

(b) Temora.

“ departure

“ departure of the hero : the soul of the King was
“ sad. He dreads the gloomy Cairbar : but who
“ of the race of Trenmor fears the foe (a) ?”

Cruelty is every where condemned as an
infamous vice. Speaking of the bards,

“ Cairbar feared to stretch his sword to the bards,
“ tho’ his soul was dark ; but he closed us in the
“ midst of darkness. Three days we pined alone :
“ on the fourth the noble Cathmor came. He
“ heard our voice from the cave, and turned the
“ eye of his wrath on Cairbar. Chief of Atha, he
“ said, how long wilt thou pain my soul ? Thy
“ heart is like the rock of the desert, and thy
“ thoughts are dark. But thou art the brother of
“ Cathmor, and he will fight thy battles. Cath-
“ mor’s soul is not like thine, thou feeble hand of
“ war. The light of my bosom is stained with thy
“ deeds. The bards will not sing of my renown :
“ they may say, Cathmor was brave, but he fought
“ for gloomy Cairbar : they will pass over my tomb
“ in silence, and my fame shall not be heard. Cair-
“ bar, loose the bards ; they are the sons of other
“ times : their voice shall be heard in other ages
“ when the Kings of Temora have failed (b).”
“ Ullin rais’d his white sails : the wind of the
“ south came forth. He bounded on the waves
“ toward Selma’s walls. The feast is spread on Le-
“ na : an hundred heroes reared the tomb of Cair-
“ bar ; but no song is raised over the chief, for his
“ soul had been dark and bloody. We remember-

(a) Temora.

(b) Temora.

“ ed the fall of Cormac ; and what could we say in
 “ Cairbar’s praise (a).”

Genuine manners never were represented more to the life by a Tacitus nor a Shakespeare. Such painting is above the reach of pure invention : it must be the work of knowledge and feeling.

One may discover the manners of a nation from the figure their women make. Among savages, women are treated like slaves ; and they acquire not the dignity that belongs to the sex, till manners be considerably refined (b). According to the manners above described, women ought to have made a considerable figure among the ancient Caledonians. Let us examine Ossian upon that subject, in order to judge whether he carries on the same tone of manners through every particular. That women were highly regarded, appears from the following passages.

“ Daughter of the hand of snow ! I was not so
 “ mournful and blind, I was not so dark and for-
 “ lorn, when Everallin loved me, Everallin with
 “ the dark-brown hair, the white-bosomed love of

(a) Temora.

(b) See the Sketch immediately following.

“ Cormac. A thousand heroes fought the maid,
“ she denied her love to a thousand : the sons of
“ the sword were despised ; for graceful in her eyes
“ was Ossian. I went in suit of the maid to Lego’s
“ fable surge ; twelve of my people were there, sons
“ of the streamy Morven. We came to Branno
“ friend of strangers, Branno of the founding mail.
“ — From whence, he said, are the arms of steel ?
“ Not easy to win is the maid that has denied the
“ blue-eyed sons of Erin. But blest be thou, O son
“ of Fingal, happy is the maid that waits thee.
“ Tho’ twelve daughters of beauty were mine, thine
“ were the choice, thou son of fame ! Then he
“ opened the hall of the maid, the dark-hair’d E-
“ verallin. Joy kindled in our breasts of steel, and
“ blest the maid of Branno (a).” “ Now Connal,
“ on Cromla’s windy side, spoke to the chief of the
“ noble car. Why that gloom, son of Semo ? Our
“ friends are the mighty in battle. And renowned
“ art thou, O warrior ! many were the deaths of
“ thy steel. Often has Bragela met thee with blue-
“ rolling eyes of joy ; often has she met her hero
“ returning in the midst of the valiant, when his
“ sword was red with slaughter, and his foes silent
“ in the field of the tomb. Pleasant to her ears
“ were thy bards, when thine actions rose in the
“ song (b).” “ But, King of Morven, if I shall
“ fall, as one time the warrior must fall, raise my
“ tomb in the midst, and let it be the greatest on
“ Lena. And send over the dark-blue wave the
“ sword of Orla, to the spouse of his love ; that
“ she may show it to her son, with tears, to kindle

(a) Fingal, book 4.

(b) Fingal, book 5.

" his soul to war (a)." " I lifted my eyes to Crom-
 " la, and I saw the son of generous Semo. — Sad
 " and slow he retired from his hill toward the lonely
 " cave of Tura. He saw Fingal victorious, and
 " mixed his joy with grief. The sun is bright on
 " his armour, and Connal slowly followed. They
 " sunk behind the hill, like two pillars of the fire
 " of night, when winds pursue them over the
 " mountain, and the flaming heath resounds. Be-
 " side a stream of roaring foam, his cave is in a
 " rock. One tree bends above it; and the rushing
 " winds echo against its sides. There rests the
 " chief of Dunscaich, the son of generous Semo.
 " His thoughts are on the battles he lost; and the
 " tear is on his cheek. He mourned the departure
 " of his fame, that fled like the mist of Cona. O
 " Bragela, thou art too far remote to cheer the
 " soul of the hero. But let him see thy bright
 " form in his soul; that his thoughts may return
 " to the lonely sun-beam of Dunscaich (b)."
 " Ossian King of swords, replied the bard, thou
 " best raisest the song. Long hast thou been known
 " to Carril, thou ruler of battles. Often have I
 " touched the harp to lovely Everallin. Thou,
 " too, hast often accompanied my voice in Bran-
 " no's hall of shells. And often amidst our voices
 " was heard the mildest Everallin. One day she
 " sung of Cormac's fall, the youth that died for her
 " love. I saw the tears on her cheek, and on thine,
 " thou chief of men. Her soul was touched for
 " the unhappy, tho' she loved him not. How fair
 " among a thousand maids, was the daughter of

(a) Fingal, book 5.

(b) Fingal, book 5.

“ the generous Branno (a).” “ It was in the days
“ of peace, replied the great Cleffammor, I came
“ in my bounding ship to Balclutha’s walls of
“ towers. The winds had roared behind my sails,
“ and Clutha’s streams received my dark-bosomed
“ vessel. Three days I remained in Reuthamir’s
“ halls, and saw that beam of light, his daughter.
“ The joy of the shell went round, and the aged
“ hero gave the fair. Her breasts were like foam
“ on the wave, and her eyes like stars of light :
“ her hair was dark as the raven’s wing : her soul
“ was generous and mild. My love for Moina was
“ great : and my heart poured forth in joy (b).”
“ The fame of Ossian shall rise : his deeds shall be
“ like his father’s. Let us rush in our arms, son
“ of Morni, let us rush to battle. Gaul, if thou
“ shalt return, go to Selma’s lofty hall. Tell E-
“ verallin that I fell with fame : carry the sword to
“ Branno’s daughter : let her give it to Oscar when
“ the years of his youth shall arise (c).”

Next to war, love makes the principal figure : and well it may ; for in Ossian’s poems it breathes every thing sweet, tender, and elevated.

“ On Lubar’s grassy banks they fought ; and
“ Grudar fell. Fierce Cairbar came to the vale of
“ the echoing Tura, where Brassolis, fairest of his
“ sisters, all alone raised the song of grief. She
“ sung the actions of Grudar, the youth of her se-

(a) Fingal, book 5. (b) Carthon.

(c) Lathmon.

“ cret soul : she mourned him in the field of blood ;
 “ but still she hoped his return. Her white bosom
 “ is seen from her robe, as the moon from the
 “ clouds of night : her voice was softer than the
 “ harp, to raise the song of grief : her soul was
 “ fixed on Grudar, the secret look of her eye was
 “ his ; — when wilt thou come in thine arms, thou
 “ mighty in the war ? Take, Brassolis, Cairbar said,
 “ take this shield of blood : fix it on high within
 “ my hall, the armour of my foe. Her soft heart
 “ beat against her side : distracted, pale, she flew,
 “ and found her youth in his blood. — She died on
 “ Cromla’s heath. Here rests their dust, Cuchul-
 “ lin ; and these two lonely yews, sprung from
 “ their tombs, wish to meet on high. Fair was
 “ Brassolis on the plain. and Grudar on the hill.
 “ The bard shall preserve their names, and repeat
 “ them to future times (a).” “ Pleasant is thy
 “ voice, O Carril, said the blue-eyed chief of Erin ;
 “ and lovely are the words of other times : they are
 “ like the calm shower of spring, when the sun
 “ looks on the field, and the light cloud flies over
 “ the hill. O strike the harp in praise of my love,
 “ the lonely sun-beam of Dunscaich : strike the
 “ harp in praise of Bragela, whom I left in the isle
 “ of mist, the spouse of Semo’s son. — Dost thou
 “ raise thy fair face from the rock to find the sails
 “ of Cuchullin ? the sea is rolling far distant, and
 “ its white foam will deceive thee for my sails. Re-
 “ tire, my love, for it is night, and the dark winds
 “ sigh in thy hair : retire to the hall of my feasts,
 “ and think of times that are past ; for I will not
 “ return till the storm of war cease. — O Connal,

(a) Fingal, book I.

I

“ speak

“ speak of war and arms, and send her from my
“ mind ; for lovely with her raven hair is the white-
“ bosomed daughter of Sorglan (*a*).”

Malvina speaks.

“ But thou dwellest in the soul of Malvina, son
“ of mighty Ossian. My sighs arise with the beam
“ of the east, my tears descend with the drops of
“ the night. I was a lovely tree in thy presence,
“ Oskar, with all my branches round me : but thy
“ death came like a blast from the desert, and laid
“ my green head low : the spring returned with its
“ showers, but of me not a leaf sprung. The vir-
“ gins saw me silent in the hall, and they touched
“ the harp of joy. The tear was on the cheek of
“ Malvina, and the virgins beheld my grief. Why
“ art thou sad, they said, thou first of the maids
“ of Lutha ? Was he lovely as the beam of the
“ morning, and stately in thy sight (*b*) ?” “ Fin-
“ gal came in his mildness, rejoicing in secret over
“ the actions of his son. Morni’s face brightened
“ with gladness, and his aged eyes looked faintly
“ through tears of joy. We came to the halls of
“ Selma, and sat round the feast of shells. The
“ maids of the song came into our presence, and
“ the mildly-blushing Everallin. Her dark hair
“ spreads on her neck of snow, her eye rolls in se-
“ cret on Ossian. She touches the harp of music,
“ and we bless the daughter of Branno (*c*).”

Had the Caledonians made slaves of

(*a*) Fingal, book 1.

(*b*) Cromar.

(*c*) Lathmon.

their women, and thought as meanly of them as savages commonly do, Ossian could never have thought, even in a dream, of bestowing on them those numberless graces that exalt the female sex, and render many of them objects of pure and elevated affection. I say more: Supposing a savage to have been divinely inspired, manners so inconsistent with their own, would not have been relished, nor even comprehended, by his countrymen. And yet that they were highly relished is certain, having been diffused among all ranks, and preserved for many ages by memory alone, without writing. Here the argument mentioned above strikes with double force, to evince, that the manners of the Caledonians must have been really such as Ossian describes.

Catharina Alexowna, Empress of Russia, promoted assemblies of men and women, as a means to polish the manners of her subjects. And in order to preserve decency in such assemblies, she published a body of regulations, of which the following are a specimen. “Ladies who play
“at forfeitures, questions and commands,
“&c. shall not be noisy nor riotous. No
“gentleman

“ gentleman must attempt to force a kiss,
 “ nor strike a woman in the assembly,
 “ under pain of exclusion. Ladies are
 “ not to get drunk upon any pretext
 “ whatever ; nor gentlemen before nine.”

Compare the manners that required such regulations with those described above. Can we suppose, that the ladies and gentlemen of Ossian's poems ever amused themselves, after the age of twelve, with hide and seek, questions and commands, or such childish play ? Can it enter into our thoughts, that Bragéla or Malvina were so often drunk, as to require the reprimand of a public regulation ? or that any hero of Ossian ever struck a woman of fashion in ire ?

The immortality of the soul was a capital article in the Celtic creed, inculcated by the Druids (a). And in Valerius Maximus we find the following passage.

“ Gallos, memoriæ proditum est, pecu-
 “ nias mutuas, quæ sibi apud inferos
 “ redderentur, dare : quia persuasum ha-
 “ buerint, animas hominum immortales
 “ esse. Dicerem stultos, nisi idem brac-
 “ cati sensissent quod palliatus Pythagoras

(a) Pomponius Mela. Amianus Marcellinus.

“ fenfit * (a).” All favages have an impreffion of immortality; but few, even of the moft enlightened before Chriftianity prevailed, had the leaft notion of any occupations in another life, but what they were accuftomed to in this. Even Virgil, with all his poetical invention, finds no amusements for his departed heroes, but what they were fond of when alive; the fame love for war, the fame tafte for hunting, and the fame affection to their friends. As we have no reafon to expect more invention in Oſſian, the obfervation may ferve as a key to the ghoſts introduced by him, and to his whole machinery, as termed by critics. His deſcription of theſe ghoſts is copied plainly from the creed of his country.

In a historical account of the progreſs of manners, it would argue groſs inſenſibility to overlook thoſe above mentioned.

* “ It is reported, that the Gauls frequently lent money to be paid back in the infernal regions, from a firm perſuaſion that the ſouls of men were immortal. I would have called them fools, if thoſe wearers of breeches had not thought the ſame as Pythagoras who wore a cloak.”

(a) Lib. 2.

The

The subject, it is true, has swelled upon my hands beyond expectation ; but it is not a little interesting. If these manners be genuine, they are a singular phenomenon in the History of Man : if they be the invention of an illiterate bard, among savages utterly ignorant of such manners, the phenomenon is no less singular. Let either side be taken, and a sort of miracle must be admitted. In the instances above given, such a beautiful mixture there is of simplicity and dignity, and so much life given to the manners described, that real manners were never represented with a more striking appearance of truth. If these manners be fictitious, I say again, that the author must have been inspired : they plainly exceed the invention of a savage ; nay, they exceed the invention of any known writer. Every man will judge for himself : it is perhaps fondness for such refined manners, that makes me incline to reality against fiction.

I am aware at the same time, that manners so pure and elevated, in the first stage of society, are difficult to be accounted for. The Caledonians were not an original tribe, who may be supposed to have
had

had manners peculiar to themselves : they were a branch of the Celtæ, and had a language common to them with the inhabitants of Gaul, and of England. The manners probably of all were the same, or nearly so ; and if we expect any light for explaining Caledonian manners, it must be from that quarter : we have indeed no other resource. Diodorus Siculus (*a*) reports of the Celtæ, that, tho' warlike, they were upright in their dealings, and far removed from deceit and duplicity. Cæsar (*b*), "*Galli homines aperti minime-que insidiosi, qui per virtutem, non per dolum, dimicare consueverunt **." And tho' cruel to their enemies, yet Pomponius Mela (*c*) observes, that they were kind and compassionate to the suppliant and unfortunate. Strabo (*d*) describes the Gauls, as studious of war, and of great alacrity in fighting ; otherwise an innocent people, altogether void of malignity. He says, that they had three orders of

* " The Gauls are of an open temper, not at all insidious ; and in fight they rely on valour, not on stratagem."

(*a*) Lib. 5.

(*b*) De bello Africo.

(*c*) Lib. 3.

(*d*) Lib. 4.

men,

men, bards, priests, and druids ; that the province of the bards was to study poetry, and to compose songs in praise of their deceased heroes ; that the priests presided over divine worship ; and that the druids, beside studying moral and natural philosophy, determined all controversies, and had some direction even in war. Cæsar, less attentive to civil matters, comprehends these three orders under the name of *druids* ; and observes, that the druids teach their disciples a vast number of verses, which they must get by heart. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls had poets termed *bards*, who sung airs accompanied with the harp, in praise of some, and dispraise of others. Lucan, speaking of the three orders, says,

“ Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque per-
 “ emptas,

“ Laudibus in longum, vates, dimittitis ævum,

“ Plurima securi fudistis carmina bardi *.”

* “ You too, ye bards ! whom sacred raptures fire,

“ To chant your heroes to your country’s lyre ;

“ Who consecrate in your immortal strain,

“ Brave patriot souls, in righteous battle slain.

“ Securely now the tuneful task renew,

“ And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue.”

Rowe,

With

With respect to the Celtic women in particular, it is agreed by all writers, that they were extremely beautiful (*a*); and no less remarkable for spirit than for beauty. If we can rely on Diodorus Siculus, the women in Gaul equalled the men in courage. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, says, that the British women frequently joined with the men, when attacked by an enemy. And so much were they regarded, as to be thought capable of the highest command. “*Neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt **,” says the same author (*b*). And accordingly, during the war carried on by Caractacus, a gallant British King, against the Romans, Cartimandua was Queen of the Brigantes. Boadicea is recorded in Roman annals as a Queen of a warlike spirit. She led on a great army against the Romans; and in exhorting her people to behave with courage, she observed, that it was not unusual to see a British army led on to battle

* “They made no distinction of sex in conferring authority.”

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5. Athenæus, lib. 13.

(*b*) Vita Agricolæ, cap. 16.

by a woman ; to which Tacitus adds his testimony : “ Solitum quidem Britannis
“ *foeminarum ductu bellare* * (a).” No wonder that Celtic women, so amply provided with spirit, as well as beauty, made a capital figure in every public entertainment (b).

The Gallic Celtæ undoubtedly carried with them their manners and customs to Britain, and spread them gradually from south to north. And as the Caledonians, inhabiting a mountainous country in the northern parts of the island, had little commerce with other nations, they preserved long in purity many Celtic customs, particularly that of retaining bards. Arthur the last Celtic King of England, who was a hero in the defence of his country against the Saxons, protected the bards, and was immortalized by them. All the chieftains had bards in their pay, whose province it was to compose songs in praise of their ancestors, and to accom-

* “ The Britons even follow’d women as leaders
“ in the field.”

(a) *Annalium*, lib. 14.

(b) *Athenæus*, lib. 10.

pany these songs with the harp. This entertainment enflamed their love for war, and at the same time softened their manners, which, as Strabo reports, were naturally innocent and void of malignity. It had beside a wonderful influence in forming virtuous manners : the bards, in praising deceased heroes, would naturally select virtuous actions, which make the best figure in heroic poetry, and tend the most to illustrate the hero of their song : vice may be flattered ; but praise is never willingly nor successfully bestow'd upon any atchievement but what is virtuous and heroic. It is accordingly observed by Ammianus Marcellinus (a), that the bards inculcated in their songs virtue and actions worthy of praise. The bards, who were in high estimation, became great proficient in poetry ; of which we have a conspicuous instance in the works of Ossian. Their capital compositions were diligently studied by those of their own order, and admired by all. The songs of the bards, accompanied with the harp, made a deep impression on the young war-

(a) Lib. 15.

rior, elevated some into heroes, and promoted virtue in every hearer *. Another circumstance common to the Caledonians with every other nation in the first stage of society, concurred to form their manners; which is, that avarice was unknown among them. People in that stage, ignorant of habitual wants and having a ready supply of all that nature requires, have little notion of property, and not the slightest desire of accumulating the goods of fortune; and for that reason are always found honest and disinterested. With respect to the female sex, who make an illustrious figure in Ossian's poems, if they were so eminent both for courage and beauty as they are represented by the best authors, it is no wonder to find them painted by Ossian as objects of love the

* Polydore Virgil says, *Hiberni sunt musicæ peritissimi*.—[In English thus: "The Irish are most skilful in music."]—Ireland was peopled from Britain; and the music of that country must have been derived from British bards. The Welsh bards were the great champions of independence; and in particular promoted an obstinate resistance to Edward I. when he carried his arms into Wales. And hence the tradition, that the Welsh bards were all slaughtered by that King.

most pure and refined. Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the soft and delicate notes of the harp have a tendency to purify manners, and to refine love.

Whether the causes here assigned of Celtic manners be fully adequate, may well admit of a doubt; but if authentic history be relied on, we can entertain no doubt, that the manners of the Gallic and British Celtæ, including the Caledonians, were such as are above described. And as the manners ascribed by Ossian to his countrymen the Caledonians, are in every particular conformable to those now mentioned, it clearly follows, that Ossian was no inventor, but drew his pictures of manners from real life. This is made highly probable from intrinsic evidence, the same that is so copiously urged above: and now by authentic history, that probability is so much heightened, as scarce to leave room for a doubt.

Our present highlanders are but a small part of the inhabitants of Britain; and they have been sinking in their importance, from the time that arts and sciences made a figure, and peaceable manners prevailed. And yet in that people are discernible

cernible many remaining features of their forefathers the Caledonians. They have to this day a disposition to war, and when disciplined make excellent soldiers, sober, active, and obedient. They are eminently hospitable; and the character given by Strabo of the Gallic Celtæ, that they were innocent and devoid of malignity, is to them perfectly applicable. That they have not the magnanimity and heroism of the Caledonians, is easily accounted for. The Caledonians were a free and independent people, unaw'd by any superior power, and living under the mild government of their own chieftains: compared with their forefathers, the present highlanders make a very inconsiderable figure: their country is barren, and at any rate is but a small part of a potent kingdom; and their language deprives them of intercourse with their polished neighbours.

There certainly never happened in literature, a discovery more extraordinary than the works of Ossian. To lay the scene of action among hunters in the first stage of society, and to bestow upon such a people a system of manners that would do honour to the most polished state, seem-

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ed at first an ill-contrived forgery. But if a forgery, why so bold and improbable? why not invent manners more congruous to the savage state? And as at any rate the work has great merit, why did the author conceal himself? These considerations roused my attention, and produced the foregoing disquisition; which I finished, without imagining that any more light could be obtained. But after a long interval, a thought struck me, that as the Caledonians formerly were much connected with the Scandinavians, the manners of the latter might probably give light in the present enquiry. I cheerfully spread my sails in a wide ocean, not without hopes of importing precious merchandise. Many volumes did I turn over of Scandinavian history; attentive to those passages where the manners of the inhabitants in the first stage of society are delineated. And now I proceed to present my reader with the goods imported.

The Danes, says Adam of Bremen, are remarkable for elevation of mind: the punishment of death is less dreaded by them than that of whipping. "The philosophy of the Cimbri," says Valerius Maximus,

ximus, "is gay and resolute: they leap
" for joy in a battle, hoping for a glori-
" ous end: in sickness they lament, for
" fear of the contrary." What fortified
their courage, was a persuasion, that those
who die in battle fighting bravely are in-
stantly translated to the hall of Odin, to
drink beer out of the skull of an enemy.
" Happy in their mistake," says Lucan,
" are the people who live near the pole:
" persuaded that death is only a passage
" to long life, they are undisturbed by
" the most grievous of all fears, that of
" dying: they eagerly run to arms, and
" esteem it cowardice to spare a life they
" shall soon recover in another world."
Such was their magnanimity, that they
scorned to snatch a victory by surprise.
Even in their piratical expeditions, in-
stances are recorded of setting aside all the
ships that exceeded those of the enemy, lest
the victory should be attributed to superi-
ority of numbers. It was held unmanly
to decline a combat, however unequal;
for courage, it was thought, rendered all
men equal. The shedding tears was un-
manly, even for the death of friends.

The Scandinavians were sensible in a
high

high degree to praise and reproach; for love of fame was their darling passion. Olave, King of Norway, placing three of his scalds or bards around him in a battle, "You shall not relate," said he, "what you have only heard, but what you are eye-witnesses of." Upon every occasion we find them insisting upon glory, honour, and contempt of death, as leading principles. The bare suspicion of cowardice, was attended with universal contempt: a man who lost his buckler, or received a wound behind, durst never again appear in public. Frotho King of Denmark, made captive in a battle, obstinately refused either liberty or life. "To what end," says he, "should I survive the disgrace of being made a captive? Should you even restore to me my sister, my treasure, and my kingdom, would these benefits restore me to my honour? Future ages will always have it to say, that Frotho was taken by his enemy (a)."

Much efficacy is above ascribed to the songs of Caledonian bards; and with satisfaction I find my observations justified

(a) Saxo Grammaticus.

in every Scandinavian history. The Kings of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, are represented in ancient chronicles as constantly attended with scalds or bards; who were treated with great respect, especially by princes distinguished in war. Harold Harfager at his feasts placed them above all his other officers; and employed them in negotiations of the greatest importance. The poetic art, held in great estimation, was cultivated by men of the first rank. Rogvald, Earl of Orkney, passed for an able poet. King Regnar was distinguished in poetry, no less than in war. It was the proper province of bards in Scandinavia, as in other countries, to celebrate in odes the achievements of deceased heroes. They were frequently employ'd in animating the troops before a battle. Hacon, Earl of Norway, in his famous engagement against the warriors of Iomfburg, had five celebrated poets, each of whom sung an ode to the soldiers ready to engage. Saxo Grammaticus, describing a battle between Waldemar and Sueno, mentions a scald belonging to the former, who, advancing to the front of the

army, reproached the latter in a pathetic ode as the murderer of his own father.

The odes of the Scandinavian bards have a peculiar energy ; which is not difficult to be accounted for. The propensity of the Scandinavians to war, their love of glory, their undaunted courage, and their warlike exploits, naturally produced elevated sentiments, and an elevated tone of language ; both of which were display'd in celebrating heroic deeds. Take the following instances. The first is from the Edda, which contains the birth and genealogy of their gods. “ The giant Rymer arrives from the east, carried in a chariot : the great serpent, rolling himself furiously in the waters, lifteth up the sea. The eagle screams, and with his horrid beak tears the dead. The vessel of the gods is set afloat. The black prince of fire issues from the south, surrounded with flames : the swords of the gods beam like the sun : shaken are the rocks, and fall to pieces. The female giants wander about weeping : men in crowds tread the paths of death. Heaven is split asunder, the sun darkened, and the earth sunk in
“ the

“ the ocean. The shining stars vanish :
“ the fire rages : the world draws to an
“ end ; and the flame ascending licks the
“ vault of heaven. From the bosom of
“ the waves an earth emerges, clothed
“ with lovely green : the floods retire :
“ the fields produce without culture : mis-
“ fortunes are banished from the world.
“ Balder and his brother, gods of war,
“ return to inhabit the ruin’d palace of
“ Odin. A palace more resplendent than
“ the sun, rises now to view ; adorned
“ with a roof of gold : there good men
“ shall inhabit ; and live in joy and plea-
“ sure through all ages.” In a collection
of ancient historical monuments of the
north, published by Biorner, a learned
Swede, there is the following passage.
“ Grunder, perceiving Grymer rushing
“ furiously through opposing battalions,
“ cries aloud, *Thou alone remainest to engage*
“ *with me in single combat. It is now thy*
“ *turn to feel the keenness of my sword.* Their
“ sabres, like dark and threatening clouds,
“ hang dreadful in the air. Grymer’s
“ weapon darts down like a thunderbolt :
“ their swords furiously strike : they are
“ bathed in gore. Grymer cleaves the

“ casque of his enemy, hews his armour
 “ in pieces, and pours the light into his
 “ bosom. Grunder sinks to the ground ;
 “ and Grymer gives a dreadful shout of
 “ triumph.” This picture is done with
 a masterly hand. The capital circum-
 stances are judiciously selected ; and the
 narration is compact and rapid. Indulge
 me with a moment’s pause to compare this
 picture with one or two in Ossian’s man-
 ner. “ As autumn’s dark storms pour
 “ from two echoing hills ; so to each o-
 “ ther approach the heroes. As from
 “ high rocks two dark streams meet, and
 “ mix and roar on the plain ; so meet
 “ Lochlin and Innis-fail, loud, rough,
 “ and dark in battle. Chief mixes his
 “ strokes with chief, and man with man ;
 “ steel sounds on steel, helmets are cleft
 “ on high. Blood bursts, and smoaks a-
 “ round. Strings murmur on the po-
 “ lished yew. Darts rush along the sky.
 “ Spears fall like sparks of flame that
 “ gild the stormy face of night. As the
 “ noise of the troubled ocean when roll
 “ the waves on high, as the last peal of
 “ thundering heaven, such is the noise of
 “ battle. Tho’ Cormac’s hundred bards
 “ were

“ were there, feeble were the voice of an
“ hundred bards to fend the deaths to fu-
“ ture times ; for many were the heroes
“ who fell, and wide poured the blood of
“ the valiant.” Again, “ As roll a thou-
“ sand waves to the rocks, so came on
“ Swaran’s host : as meets a rock a thou-
“ sand waves, so Innis-fail met Swaran.
“ The voice of death is heard all around,
“ and mixes with the found of shields.
“ Each hero is a pillar of darkness, and
“ the sword a beam of fire in his hand.
“ From wing to wing echoes the field, like
“ a hundred hammers that rise by turns
“ on the red sun of the furnace. Who
“ are those on Lena’s heath, so gloomy
“ and dark ? they are like two clouds,
“ and their swords lighten above. Who
“ is it but Ossian’s son, and the car-borne
“ chief of Erin ?” These two descriptions
make a deeper impression, and swell the
heart more than the former : they are
more poetical by short similes finely inter-
woven ; and the images are far more lofty.
And yet Ossian’s chief talent is senti-
ment, in which Scandinavian bards are
far inferior : in the generosity, tenderness,
and

and humanity of his sentiments, he has not a rival.

The ancient Scandinavians were undoubtedly a barbarous people, compared with the southern nations of Europe ; but that they were far from being gross savages, may be gathered from a poem still extant, named *Havamaal* ; or, *The sublime discourse of Odin*. Tho' that poem is of great antiquity, it is replete with good lessons and judicious reflections ; of which the following are a specimen.

Happy he who gains the applause and good will of men.

Love your friends, and love also their friends.

Be not the first to break with your friend : sorrow gnaws the heart of him who has not a single friend to advise with.

Where is the virtuous man that hath not a failing ? Where is the wicked man that hath not some good quality ?

Riches take wing : relations die : you yourself shall die. One thing only is out of the reach of fate ; which is, the judgement that passes on the dead.

There is no malady more severe than the being discontented with one's lot.

Let

Let not a man be overwise nor overcurious : if he would sleep in quiet, let him not seek to know his destiny.

While we live, let us live well : a man lights his fire, but before it be burnt out death may enter.

A coward dreams that he may live for ever : if he should escape every other weapon, he cannot escape old age.

The flocks know when to retire from pasture : the glutton knows not when to retire from the feast.

The lewd and dissolute make a mock of every thing, not considering how much they deserve to be mocked.

The best provision for a journey, is strength of understanding : more useful than treasure, it welcomes one to the table of the stranger.

Hitherto the manners of the Scandinavians resemble in many capital circumstances those delineated in the works of Ossian. I lay not however great stress upon that resemblance, because such manners are found among several other warlike nations in the first stage of society. The circumstance that has occasioned the greatest doubt about Ossian's system of manners,

manners, is the figure his women make. Among other savage nations, they are held to be beings of an inferior rank; and as such are treated with very little respect: in Ossian they make an illustrious figure, and are highly regarded by the men. I have not words to express my satisfaction, when I discovered, that anciently among the barbarous Scandinavians, the female sex made a figure no less illustrious. A resemblance so complete with respect to a matter extremely singular among barbarians, cannot fail to convert the most obstinate infidel, leaving no doubt of Ossian's veracity. — But I ought not to anticipate. One cannot pass a verdict till the evidence be summed up; and to that task I now proceed, with sanguine hopes of success.

It is a fact ascertained by many writers, That women in the north of Europe were eminent for resolution and courage. Cæsar, in the first book of his Commentaries, describing a battle he fought with the Helvetii, says, that the women with a warlike spirit exhorted their husbands to persist, and placed the waggons in a line to prevent their flight. Florus and Tacitus

tus mention, that several battles of those barbarous nations were renewed by their women, presenting their naked bosoms, and declaring their abhorrence of captivity. Flavius Vopiscus, writing of Proculus Cæsar, says, that a hundred Sarmatian virgins were taken in battle. The Longobard women, when many of their husbands were cut off in a battle, took up arms, and obtained the victory (*a*). The females of the Galactophagi, a Scythian tribe, were as warlike as the males, and went often with them to war (*b*). In former times, many women in Denmark applied themselves to arms (*c*). Jornandes describes the women of the Goths as full of courage, and trained to arms like the men. Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsal, says the same; and mentions in particular an expedition of the Goths to invade a neighbouring country, in which more women went along with the men than were left at home (*d*). Several Scandinavian women exercised piracy (*e*). The Cimbri were always attended with their

(*a*) Paulus Diaconus.(*b*) Nicolaus Damascenus.(*c*) Saxo Grammaticus.(*d*) Book 1.(*e*) Olaus Magnus.

wives even in their distant expeditions, and were more afraid of their reproaches than of the blows of the enemy. The Goths, compelled by famine to surrender to Belisarius the city of Ravenna, were bitterly reproached by their wives for cowardice (*a*). In a battle between Regner King of Denmark and Fro King of Sweden, many women took part with the former, Langertha in particular, who fought with her hair flowing about her shoulders. Regner, being victorious, demanded who that woman was who had behaved so gallantly; and finding her to be a virgin of noble birth, he took her to wife. He afterward divorced her, in order to make way for a daughter of the King of Sweden. Regner being unhappily engaged in a civil war with Harald, who aspired to the throne of Denmark; Langertha, overlooking her wrongs, brought from Norway a body of men to assist her husband; and behaved so gallantly, that, in the opinion of all, Regner was indebted to her for the victory.

To find women in no inconsiderable portion of the globe, rivalling men in

(*a*) Procopius, *Historia Gothica*, lib. 2.

their

their capital property of courage, is a singular phenomenon. That this phenomenon must have had an adequate cause, is certain; but of that cause, it is better to acknowledge our utter ignorance, however mortifying, than to squeeze out conjectures that will not bear examination.

In rude nations, prophets and soothsayers are held to be a superior class of men: what a figure then must the Vandal women have made, when in that nation, as Procopius says, all the prophets and soothsayers were of the female sex? In Scandinavia, women are said to have been skilful in magic arts, as well as men. Tacitus informs us, that the Germans had no other physicians but their women. They followed the armies, to staunch the blood, and suck the wounds of their husbands *. He mentions a fact that sets the

* The expression of Tacitus is beautiful: "Ad matres, ad conjuges, vulnera ferunt: nec illæ numerare aut exfugere plagas pavent: cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant." — [*In English thus*: "When wounded, they find physicians in their mothers and wives, who are not afraid to count and suck their wounds. They carry provisions for their sons and husbands, and animate them in battle by their exhortations."]

German women in a conspicuous light, That female hostages bound the Germans more strictly to their engagements than male hostages. He adds, “ Inesse quin e-
 “ tiam sanctum aliquid et providum pu-
 “ tant: nec aut consilia earum aspernan-
 “ tur, aut responsa negliguntur *.” The histories and romances of the north represent women, and even princesses, acting as physicians in war.

Polygamy sprung up in countries where women are treated as inferior beings: it can never take place where the two sexes are held to be of equal rank. For that reason, polygamy never was known among the northern nations of Europe. Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote the history of Denmark in the twelfth century, gives not the slightest hint of polygamy, even among kings and princes. Crantz, in his history of the Saxons (a), affirms, that polygamy was never known among the nor-

* “ They believe that there is something sacred
 “ in their character, and that they have a foresight
 “ of futurity: for this reason their counsels are al-
 “ ways respected; nor are their opinions ever dis-
 “ regarded.”

(a) Lib. 1. cap. 2.

thern

thern nations of Europe; which is confirmed by every other writer who gives the history of any of these nations. Schef-fer in particular, who writes the history of Lapland, observes, that neither polygamy nor divorce were ever heard of in that country, not even during Paganism.

We have the authority of Procopius (a), that the women in those countries were remarkable for beauty, and that those of the Goths and Vandals were the finest that ever had been seen in Italy; and we have the authority of Crantz, that chastity was in high estimation among the Danes, Swedes, and other Scandinavians. When these facts are added to those above mentioned, it will not be thought strange, that love between the sexes, even among that rude people, was a pure and elevated passion. That it was in fact such, is certain, if history can be credited, or the sentiments of a people expressed in their poetical compositions. I begin with the latter, as evidence the most to be rely'd on. The ancient poems of Scandinavia contain the warmest expressions of love and regard for the female sex. In an ode of King Regner

(a) *História Gothica*, lib. 3.

" *Lodbrog*,

Lodbrog, a very ancient poem, we find the following sentiments. “ We fought
 “ with swords upon a promontory of
 “ England, when I saw ten thousand of
 “ my foes rolling in the dust. A dew of
 “ blood distilled from our swords: the
 “ arrows, that flew in search of the hel-
 “ mets, hissed through the air. The plea-
 “ sure of that day was like the clasping a
 “ fair virgin in my arms.” Again, “ A
 “ young man should march early to the
 “ conflict of arms; in which consists the
 “ glory of the warrior. He who aspires
 “ to the love of a mistress, ought to be
 “ dauntless in the clash of swords.” These
 Hyperboreans, it would appear, had early
 learned to combine the ideas of love and of
 military prowess; which is still more con-
 spicuous in an ode of Harald the Valiant,
 of a later date. That prince, who figured
 in the middle of the eleventh century, tra-
 versed all the seas of the north, and made
 piratical incursions even upon the coasts of
 the Mediterranean. In this ode he com-
 plains, that the glory he had acquired
 made no impression on Elissir, daughter to
 Jarissas, King of Russia. “ I have made
 “ the tour of Sicily. My brown vessel,
 “ full

“ full of mariners, made a swift progress.
“ My course I thought would never slack-
“ ken — and yet a Russian maiden scorns
“ me, The troops of Drontheim, which
“ I attacked in my youth, exceeded ours
“ in number. Terrible was the conflict.
“ I left their young king dead on the field
“ — and yet a Russian maiden scorns me.
“ Six exercises I can perform : I fight
“ valiantly : firm is my seat on horse-
“ back : inured I am to swimming : swift
“ is my motion on scates : I dart the
“ lance : I am skilful at the oar — and
“ yet a Russian maiden scorns me. Can
“ she deny, this young and lovely maiden,
“ that near a city in the south I joined
“ battle, and left behind me lasting mo-
“ numents of my exploits ? — and yet a
“ Russian maiden scorns me. My birth
“ was in the high country of Norway, fa-
“ mous for archers : but ships were my
“ delight ; and, far from the habitations
“ of men, I have traversed the seas from
“ north to south — and yet a Russian
“ maiden scorns me.” In the very ancient poem of Havamaal, mentioned above, there are many expressions of love to the fair sex. “ He who would gain
“ the

“ the love of a maiden, must address her
 “ with smooth speeches, and showy gifts.
 “ It requires good sense to be a skilful
 “ lover.” Again, “ If I aspire to the
 “ love of the chastest virgin, I can bend
 “ her mind, and make her yield to my
 “ desires.” The ancient Scandinavian
 chronicles present often to our view young
 warriors endeavouring to acquire the fa-
 vour of their mistresses, by boasting of
 their accomplishments, such as their dex-
 terity in swimming and scating, their ta-
 lent in poetry, their skill in chess, and
 their knowing all the stars by name. Mal-
 let, in the introduction to his history of
 Denmark, mentions many ancient Scan-
 dinavian novels that turn upon love and
 heroism. These may be justly held as au-
 thentic evidence of the manners of the
 people : it is common to invent facts ; but
 it is not common to attempt the inventing
 manners.

It is an additional proof of the great re-
 gard paid to women in Scandinavia, that
 in Edda, the Scandinavian Bible, female
 deities make as great a figure as male
 deities.

Agreeable to the manners described, we
 find

find it universally admitted among the ancient Scandinavians, that beauty ought to be the reward of courage and military skill. A warrior was thought intitled to demand in marriage any young woman, even of the highest rank, if he overcame his rivals in single combat: nor was it thought any hardship on the young lady, to be yielded to the victor. The ladies were not always of that opinion; for the stoutest fighter is not always the handsomest man, nor the most engaging. And in the histories of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, many instances are related, of men generously interposing to rescue young beauties from brutes, destitute of every accomplishment but strength and boldness. Such stories have a fabulous air; and many of them probably are mere fables. Some of them however have a strong appearance of truth: men are introduced who make a figure in the real history of the country; and many circumstances are related that make links in the chain of that history. Take the following specimen. The ambassadors of Frotho, King of Denmark, commissioned to demand in marriage the daughter of a King

of the Huns, were feasted for three days, as the custom was in ancient times; and being admitted to the young Princess, she rejected the offer; "Because," says she, "your King has acquired no reputation in war, but passes his time effeminately at home." In Biorner's collection of ancient historical monuments, mentioned above, there is the following history, Charles King of Sweden kept on foot an army of chosen men. He had a daughter named *Inguegerda*, whose lively and graceful accomplishments were admired still more than her birth and fortune. The breast of the King overflow'd with felicity. Grymer, a youth of noble birth, knew to dye his sword in the blood of his enemies, to run over craggy mountains, to wrestle, to play at chess, and to trace the motions of the stars. He studied to show his skill in the apartment of the damsels, before the lovely *Inguegerda*. At length he ventured to open his mind. "Wilt thou, O fair Princess! accept of me for a husband, if I obtain the King's consent?" Go," says she, "and supplicate my father." The courtly youth, respectfully addressing the King, said, "O King!

“ King ! give me in marriage thy beautiful daughter.” He answered sternly, “ Thou hast learned to handle thy arms : thou hast acquired some honourable distinctions : but hast thou ever gained a victory, or given a banquet to savage beasts that rejoice in blood ?” “ Where shall I go, O King ! that I may dye my sword in crimson, and render myself worthy of being thy son-in-law ?” “ Hialmar, son of Harec,” said the King, “ who governs Biarmland, has become terrible by a keen sword : the firmest shields he hews in pieces, and loads his followers with booty. Go, and prove thy valour by attacking that hero : cause him to bite the dust, and Inguegerda shall be thy reward.” Grymer, returning to his fair mistress, saluted her with ardent looks of love. “ What answer hast thou received from the King ?” “ To obtain thee I must deprive the fierce Hialmar of life.” Inguegerda exclaimed with grief, “ Alas ! my father hath devoted thee to death.” Grymer selected a troop of brave warriors, eager to follow him. They launch their vessels into the wide ocean : they unfurl the sails,

which catch the springing gale : the
 throwds rattle : the waves foam, and dash
 against the prows : they steer their nume-
 rous vessels to the shore of Gothland ; bent
 to glut the hungry raven, and to gorge
 the wolf with prey. Thus landed Gry-
 mer on Gothland? and thus did a beau-
 teous maiden occasion the death of many
 heroes. Hialmar demanded who the
 strangers were. Grymer told his name ;
 adding, that he had spent the summer in
 quest of him. “ May your arrival, re-
 “ ply’d Hialmar, be fortunate ; and may
 “ health and honour attend you. You
 “ shall partake of my gold, with the un-
 “ mixed juice of the grape. Thy offers,
 “ said Grymer, I dare not accept. Pre-
 “ pare for battle ; and let us hasten to
 “ give a banquet to beasts of prey. Hi-
 “ almar laid hold of his white cuirass, his
 “ sword, and his buckler. Grymer, with
 “ a violent blow of his sabre, transfixes
 “ Hialmar’s shield, and cuts off his left
 “ hand. Hialmar enraged, brandishes his
 “ sword, and striking off Grymer’s helmet
 “ and cuirass, pierces his breast and fides :
 “ an effusion of blood follows. Grymer
 “ raising his sabre with both hands, lays
 “ Hialmar

“ Hialmar prostrate on the ground ; and
“ he himself sinks down upon the dead
“ body of his adversary. He was put on
“ shipboard, and when landed seemed to
“ be at the last period of life. The di-
“ stressed Princess undertook his cure ;
“ and restored him to health. They were
“ married with great solemnity ; and the
“ beauteous bride of Grymer filled the
“ heart of her hero with unfading joy.”

According to the rude manners of those times, a lover did not always wait for the consent of his mistress. Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsal, observes in his history of the Goths, that ravishing of women was of old no less frequent among the Scandinavians, than among the Greeks. He relates, that Gram, son to the King of Denmark, carried off the King of Sweden's daughter, whose beauty was celebrated in verses remembered even in his time. Another instance he gives, of Nicolaus King of Denmark (*a*), who courted Uluilda, a noble and beautiful Norwegian lady, and obtained her consent. Nothing remained but the celebration of the nuptials, when she was carried off by Suercher,

(*a*) Book 18.

King of Sweden. We have the authority of Saxo Grammaticus, that Skiold, one of the first Kings of Denmark, fought a duel for a beautiful young woman, and obtained her for a wife. That author relates many duels of the same kind. It was indeed common among the Scandinavians, before they became Christians, to fight for a wife, and to carry off the desired object by force of arms. No cause of war between neighbouring kings was more frequent. Fridlevus King of Denmark sent a solemn embassy to Hafmundus King of Norway, to demand in marriage his daughter. Hafmundus had a rooted aversion to the Danes, who had done much mischief in his country. "Go," says he to the ambassadors, "and demand a wife where you are less hated than in Norway." The young lady, who had no aversion to the match, intreated leave to speak. "You seem," said she, "not to consult the good of your kingdom in rejecting so potent a son-in-law, who can carry by force what he is now applying for by intreaties." The father continuing obstinate, dismissed the ambassadors. Fridlevus sent other ambassadors, redoubling

redoubling his intreaties for a favourable answer. Hafmundus said, that one refusal might be thought sufficient; and in a fit of passion put the ambassadors to death. Fridlevus invaded Norway with a potent army; and, after a desperate battle, carried off the lady in triumph.

The figure that women made in the north of Europe by their courage, their beauty, and their chastity, could not fail to produce mutual esteem and love between the sexes: nor could that love fail to be purified into the most tender affection, when their rough manners were smoothed in the progress of society. If love between the sexes prevail in Lapland as much as any where, which is vouched by Scheffer in his history of that country, it must be for a reason very different from that now mentioned. The males in Lapland, who are great cowards, have no reason to despise the females for their timidity; and in every country where the women equal the men, mutual esteem and affection naturally take place. Two Lapland odes communicated to us by the author mentioned, leave no doubt of this fact, being full of the tenderest sentiments
that

that love can inspire. The following is a literal translation.

F I R S T O D E.

I.

Kulnasatz my rain-deer,
We have a long journey to go ;
The moors are vast,
And we must haste ;
Our strength, I fear,
Will fail if we are slow ;
And so
Our songs will do.

II.

Kaigé, the watery moor,
Is pleasant unto me,
Though long it be ;
Since it doth to my mistress lead,
Whom I adore :
The Kilwa moor
I ne'er again will tread.

III.

Thoughts fill'd my mind
Whilst I thro' Kaigé pass
Swift as the wind,
And my desire,
Wing'd with impatient fire,
My rain-deer, let us haste.

IV.

So shall we quickly end our pleasing pain :
Behold my mistress there,
With decent motion walking o'er the plain.
Kulnasatz my rain-deer,

Look yonder, where
She washes in the lake :
See while she swims,
The waters from her purer limbs
New clearness take.

S E C O N D O D E.

I.

With brightest beams let the sun shine
On Orra moor :
Could I be sure
That from the top o' th' lofty pine
I Orra moor might see,
I to its highest bow would climb,
And with industrious labour try
Thence to descry
My mistress, if that there she be.

II.

Could I but know, amid what flowers,
Or in what shade she stays,
The gaudy bowers,
With all their verdant pride,
Their blossoms and their sprays,
Which make my mistress disappear,
And her in envious darkness hide,
I from the roots and bed of earth would tear.

III.

Upon the raft of clouds I'd ride,
Which unto Orra fly :
O' th' ravens I would borrow wings,
And all the feather'd inmates of the sky :
But wings, alas, are me deny'd,
The stork and swan their pinions will not lend,

There's none who unto Orra brings,
Or will by that kind conduct me befriend,

IV.

Enough, enough ! thou hast delay'd
So many summers days,
The best of days that crown the year,
Which light upon the eye-lids dart,
And melting joy upon the heart :
But since that thou so long hast stay'd,
They in unwelcome darkness disappear,
Yet vainly dost thou me forsake ;
I will pursue and overtake.

V.

What stronger is than bolts of steel ?
What can more surely bind ?
Love is stronger far than it ;
Upon the head in triumph she doth sit ;
Fetters the mind,
And doth control
The thought and soul.

VI.

A youth's desire is the desire of wind ;
All his essays
Are long delays :
No issue can they find.
Away fond counsellors, away,
No more advice obtrude :
I'll rather prove
The guidance of blind love ;
To follow you is certainly to stray ;
One single counsel, tho' unwise, is good.

In the Scandinavian manners here described, is discovered a striking resemblance

blance to those described by Ossian. And as such were the manners of the Scandinavians in the first stage of society, it no longer remains a wonder, that the manners of Caledonia should be equally pure in the same early period. And now every argument above urged for Ossian as a genuine historian has its full weight, without the least counterpoise. It is true, that Caledonian manners appear from Ossian to have been still more polished and refined than those of Scandinavia; but that difference may have proceeded from accidents which time has buried in oblivion.

I make no apology for insisting so largely on Scandinavian manners; for they tend remarkably to support the credit of Ossian; and consequently to ascertain a fact not a little interesting, that our forefathers were not such barbarians as they are commonly held to be. All the inhabitants of Britain were of Celtic extraction; and there is reason to believe, that the manners of Caledonia were the manners of every part of the island, before the inhabitants of the plains were enslaved by the Romans. The only circumstance peculiar to the Caledonians, is their moun-

tainous situation : being less exposed to the oppression of foreigners, and farther removed from commerce, they did longer than their southern neighbours preserve their manners pure and untainted.

I have all along considered the poems of Ossian in a historical view merely. In the view of criticism they have been examined by a writer of distinguished taste (a) ; and however bold to enter a field where he hath reaped laurels, I imagine that there still remain some trifles for me to glean. Two of these poems, Fingal and Temora, are regular epic poems ; and perhaps the single instances of epic poetry moulded into the form of an opera. We have in these two poems both the *Recitativo* and *Aria* of an Italian opera ; dropp'd indeed in the translation, from difficulty of imitation. Ossian's poems were all of them composed with a view to music ; tho' in the long poems mentioned, it is probable that the airs only were accompanied with the harp, the recitative being left to the voice. The poems of Ossian are singular in another respect, being probably the only regular

(a) Doctor Blair, professor of Rhetoric in the college of Edinburgh.

work now remaining that was composed in the hunter-state. Some songs of that early period may possibly have escaped oblivion; but no other poem of the epic kind. One may advance a step farther, and pronounce, with a high degree of probability, that *Fingal* and *Temora* are the only epic poems that ever were composed in that state. How great must have been the talents of the author, beset with every obstruction to genius, the manners of his country alone excepted; a cold un-hospitable climate; the face of the country so deformed as scarce to afford a pleasing object; and he himself absolutely illiterate! One may venture boldly to affirm, that such a poem as *Fingal* or *Temora* never was composed in any other part of the world, under such disadvantageous circumstances.

Tho' permanent manners enter not regularly into the present sketch, I am however tempted to add a few words concerning the influence of soil upon the manners of men. The stupidity of the inhabitants of New Holland, mentioned above, is occasioned by the barrenness of their soil, yielding nothing that can be food for man

or

or beast. Day and night they watch the ebb of the tide, in order to dig small fish out of the sand; and sleep in the intervals, without an hour to spare for any other occupation. People in that condition, must for ever remain ignorant and brutish. Were all the earth barren like New Holland, all men would be ignorant and brutish, like the inhabitants of New Holland. On the other hand, were every portion of this earth so fertile as spontaneously to feed all its inhabitants, which is the golden age figured by poets, what would follow? Upon the former supposition, man would be a meagre, patient, and timid animal: upon the latter supposition, he would be pampered, lazy, and effeminate. In both cases, he would be stupidly ignorant, and incapable of any manly exertion, whether of mind or body. But the soil of our earth is in general more wisely accommodated to man, its chief inhabitant. It is neither so fertile as to supersede labour, nor so barren as to require the utmost labour. The laborious occupation of hunting for food, produced originally some degree of industry: and tho' all the industry of man was at first

necessary

neceſſary for procuring food, cloathing, and habitation; yet the ſoil, by ſkill in agriculture, came to produce plenty with leſs labour; which to ſome afforded time for thinking of conveniencies. A habit of induſtry thus acquired, excited many to beſtow their leiſure-hours upon the arts, proceeding from uſeful arts to fine arts, and from theſe to ſciences. Wealth, accumulated by induſtry, has a wonderful influence upon manners: feuds and war, the offſpring of wealth, call forth into action friendſhip, courage, heroiſm, and every ſocial virtue, as well as many ſelfiſh vices. How like brutes do we paſs our time, without once reflecting on the wiſdom of Providence viſible even in the ſoil we tread upon!

Diverſity of manners, at the ſame time, enters into the plan of Providence, as well as diverſity of talents, of feelings, and of opinions. Our Maker hath given us a taſte for variety; and he hath provided objects in plenty for its gratification. Some ſoils, naturally fertile, require little labour: ſome ſoils, naturally barren, require much labour. But the advantages of the latter are more than ſufficient to counterbalance

counterbalance its barrenness: the inhabitants are sober, industrious, vigorous; and consequently courageous, as far as courage depends on bodily strength *. The disadvantages of a fertile soil, on the contrary, are more than sufficient to counterbalance its advantages: the inhabitants are rendered indolent, weak, and cowardly. Hindostan may seem to be an exception; for tho' it be extremely fertile, the people are industrious, and export manufactures in great abundance at a very low price. But Hindostan properly is not an exception. The Hindows, who are prohibited by their religion to kill any living creature, must abandon to animals for food a large proportion of land; which

* That a barren country is a great spur to industry, appears from Venice and Genoa in Italy, Nuremberg in Germany, and Limoges in France. The sterility of Holland required all the industry of its inhabitants for procuring the necessaries of life; and by that means chiefly they became remarkably industrious. Camden ascribes the success of the town of Halifax in the cloth-manufacture, to its barren soil. A sect of pampered Englishmen, it is to be hoped not many in number, who centre all their devotion in a luxurious board, despise Scotland for its plain fare; and in bitter contumely, characterize it as a poor country.

obliges them to cultivate what remains with double industry, in order to procure food for themselves. The populousness of their country contributes also to make them industrious. Aragon was once the most limited monarchy in Europe, England not excepted: the barrenness of the soil was the cause, which rendered the people hardy and courageous. In a preamble to one of their laws, the states declare, that were they not more free than other nations, the barrenness of their country would tempt them to abandon it. Opposed to Aragon stands Egypt, the fertility of which renders the inhabitants soft and effeminate, and consequently an easy prey to every invader *. The fruitfulness
of

* Fear impressed by strange and unforeseen accidents, is the most potent cause of superstition. No other country is less liable to strange and unforeseen accidents than Egypt: no thunder, scarce any rain, perfect regularity in the seasons, and in the rise and fall of the river. So little notion had the Egyptians of variable weather, as to be surpris'd that the rivers in Greece did not overflow like the Nile. They could not comprehend how their fields were watered: rain, they said, was very irregular; and what if Jupiter should take a conceit to send them no rain? What then made the antient Egyptians so superstitious

of the province of Quito in Peru, and the low price of every necessary, occasioned by its distance from the sea, have plunged the inhabitants into supine indolence, and excessive luxury. The people of the town of Quito in particular, have abandoned themselves to every sort of debauchery: the time they have to spare from wine and women, is employed in excessive gaming. In other respects also the manners of a people are influenced by the country they inhabit. A great part of Calabria, formerly populous and fertile, is at present covered with trees and shrubs, like the wilds of America; and the ferocity of its inhabitants corresponds to the rudeness of the fields. The same is visible in the inhabitants of Mount Etna in Sicily: the country and its inhabitants are equally rugged.

tious? The fertility of the soil, and the inaction of the inhabitants during the inundation of the river, enervated both mind and body, and rendered them timid and pusillanimous. Superstition was the offspring of this character in Egypt, as it is of strange and unforeseen accidents in other countries.

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